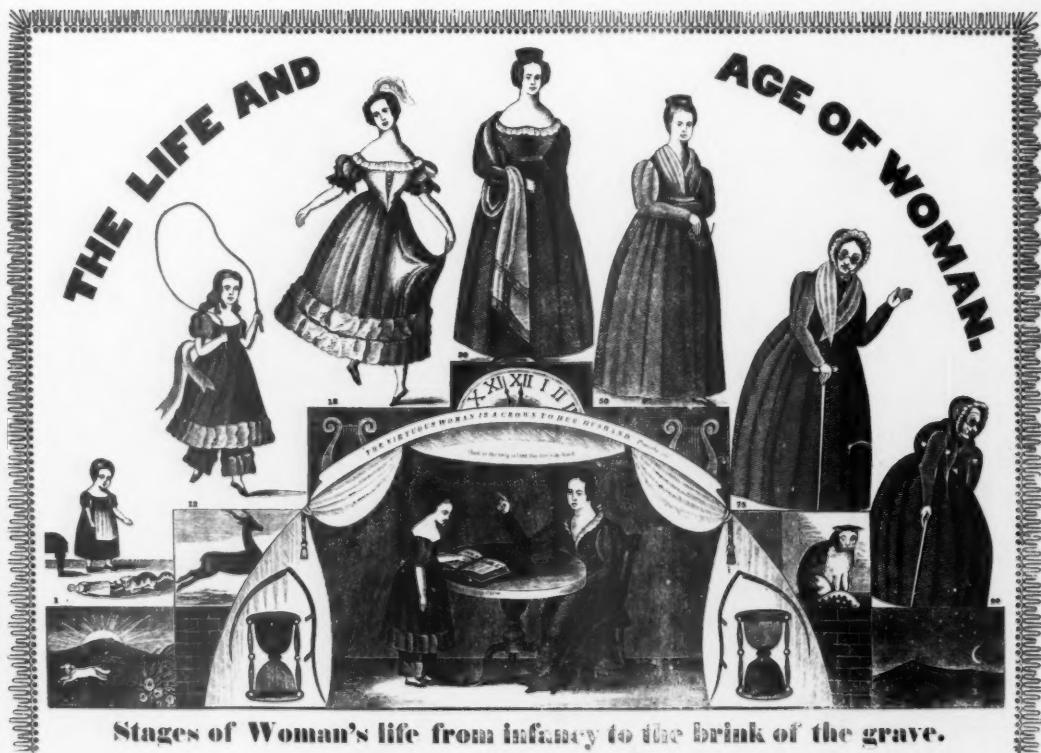


ISSN 0041-7939
October 1975

The Quarterly Journal OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS





Stages of Woman's life from infancy to the brink of the grave.

COVER DESIGN: THE LIFE AND AGE OF WOMAN. Woodcut published by
A. Alden. n.d.

LC-USZ62-42435 Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.
(Color added.)

Volume 32 / Number 4 / October 1975

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¹ Selected by Milton Kaplan, former curator of historical prints, Prints and Photographs Division.

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Published as a supplement to the Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 44-40782

ISSN 0041-7939 Key title: Quarterly journal of the Library of Congress

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402
Price \$1.65 (single copy). Subscription Price ; \$6.45 per year; \$1.65 additional for foreign mailing.

Editor's Note

Melvil Dewey, champion of simplified spelling and the "international or metric system" and founder of the Dewey decimal system for the classification of libraries, was chief librarian of Columbia College on March 13, 1886, when he addressed the Association of Collegiate Alumnae on the subject of "Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women."

"There is," he told his audience, "a large field of work for college-bred women in promoting the founding of new libraries, infusing new life into old ones, or serving on committees or boards of trustees where their education and training will tell powerfully for the common good. Active interest of this kind may fairly be expected of every college graduate." But Dewey was not unmindful of the women who, however zealous for the common good, must also earn a living. He went on to say:

In the more direct work for which salaries are paid there is an unusually promising field for college girls and in few lines of work have women so nearly an equal chance with men. There is almost nothing in the higher branches which she cannot do quite as well as a man of equal training and experience; and in much of library work woman's quick mind and deft fingers do many things with a neatness and despatch seldom equaled by her brothers.

My experience is that an increasing number of libraries are willing to pay for given work the same price, whether done by men or women. Yet why are the sal-

aries of women lower? In all my business and professional life I have tried to give woman more than a fair chance at all work which I had to offer. Experience has taught me why the fairest employers, in simple justice, usually pay men more for what seems at first sight the same work. Perhaps these reasons may help you to avoid some of the difficulties.

1. Women have usually poorer health and as a result lose more time from illness and are more crippled by physical weakness when on duty. . . . but it is a question of health, not of sex. A strong, healthy woman is worth more than a feeble man for the same reason that a strong man gets more than a weak woman.

2. Usually women lack business and executive training. . . . The boys have been trading jack knives and developing the business bumps while the girls were absorbed with their dolls. It would be a miracle at present if girls were not greatly inferior in this respect and it is this fact which accounts for so few prominent chief librarianships being held by women. But this is the fault of circumstances, not necessarily of sex, and women who have somehow got the business ideas and training and have executive force are getting the salaries that such work commands. When girls have as good a chance to learn these things, I doubt not that they will quite equal their brothers and will keep cash and bank accounts and double entry books for their private affairs. A man brought up girl-fashion, as not a few are, proves just as helpless on trial and as a result gets only a "woman's salary."

3. Lack of permanence in her plans is one of the gravest difficulties with women. A young man who enters library work and later thinks of a home of his own, is stimulated to fresh endeavors to make his services more valuable. . . . But with women the prob-

ability or even the possibility that her position is only temporary and that she will soon leave it for home life does more than anything else to keep her value down. Neither man or woman can do the best work except when it is felt to be the life work. . . . If woman wishes to be as valuable as man she must contrive to feel that she has chosen a profession for life and work accordingly. Then she will do the best that is in her to do as long as she is in the service and if at any time it seems best to change her state, the work already done has not been crippled by this "temporary" evil.

4. With equal health, business training and permanence of plans, women will still usually have to accept something less than men because of the consideration which she exacts and deserves on account of her sex. If a man can do all the other work just as well as the woman and in addition can in an emergency lift a heavy case, or climb a ladder to the roof or in case of accident or disorder can act as fireman or do police duty, he adds something to his direct value just as a saddle horse that is safe in harness and not afraid of the cars will bring more in nine markets out of ten than the equally good horse that can be used only in the saddle. So in justice to those who wish to be fair to women, remember that she almost always receives, whether she exacts it or not, much more waiting on and minor assistance than a man in the same place and therefore, with sentiment aside, hard business judgment cannot award her quite as much salary. There are many uses for which a stout corduroy is really worth more than the finest silk.

England also preferred stout corduroy to fine silk according to a pamphlet published by the Library Association in 1893:

During recent years women have obtained for themselves in this country a recognized place among library assistants, and, in a few of the smaller public libraries, hold the position of principal librarian. In America several have made for themselves a deserved reputation for energy and ability in management; and if any one were to ask: Why not in England also? a logical and conclusive answer might not be readily forthcoming. In Manchester, Bradford, and recently in Liverpool, women have shown that they can perform many of the duties in a library, particularly in the lending department, with considerable success. In cataloguing they should have a future, for it is a work for which they would seem to be particularly fitted—mentally and physically, and which would be most congenial to women of good education. If a young woman on her appointment to a library could bring herself to put all thoughts of marriage in the background, and to regard the winning of her own bread as her first and permanent object, probably greater seriousness and studiousness would acquire for her an honourable reputation in librarianship. Whether the whole of the work falling on the principal librarian of a large library could or could not be efficiently performed by a woman it is not necessary to discuss here. This, as

in other questions where the sexes are concerned, is not so much one of mental ability as of other considerations which make it seem expedient in certain appointments and positions to employ a man in preference to a woman.

Fortunately, women librarians have steadfastly refused to "put all thoughts of marriage in the background" and despite the pessimism of the Library Association's author, have managed to perform efficiently as principal librarians of large libraries, although the preference for men in this capacity is as strong today as it was 80 years ago.

In inquiring into the "condition of the Library of Congress" in 1896, preparatory to the move into the new building, the Joint Committee on the Library also touched upon the question of women in libraries. Mr. Dewey, one of several expert witnesses, told the committee that the way to select the "best people" to staff the new library was by competitive examination. Further, he said that in both the examination and salaries, sex should be ignored entirely.

Herbert Putnam, then librarian of the Boston Public Library, was also among the witnesses. About half of the Boston staff at that time were women, he said. Two were heads of departments and would, he thought, if men, have been rated at a higher salary.

I see nothing in the work done or in the capacities for handling that work in the issuing and ordering departments to rate it lower than any other work done in the library. The heads of these departments are women, and they are receiving only \$1,300 a year each, while certain other heads of department [sic] are receiving as high as \$3,000. Those salaries were not established by me. If I had the establishment of such salaries, I certainly should not make such discriminations.

In reply to questions, he answered that girls (who were used in the stacks instead of boys) were even-tempered, "less inclined to be effervescent than boys," and "less inclined to mischief, more satisfactory, more equable, more to be relied on than boys would be." Although girls were attentive to their duties, Mr. Putnam could not say that they were quicker in their movements than boys, adding "If a boy chooses to move quickly, he moves quickly." Taking the force as a whole, Mr. Putnam thought that one got substantially as good service from women as from men, but he added a qualification:

. . . men, on the whole, stand a better chance of being successful than women for certain administrative positions, especially such as may involve a capacity for initiative.

William I. Fletcher, librarian of Amherst College, also had reservations about the appointment of women:

I agree with what has been said as to the usefulness and efficiency of women in many library positions, especially in cataloguing, and at the counters of free public libraries, where, by their superior powers of sympathy, they excel as guides and leaders of the reading of those who resort to them. I should, however, consider it doubtful whether they could so satisfactorily be employed as librarians or assistants outside of the cataloguing work in the Library of Congress.

But one cannot conclude from such encouragements that a young lady ready to forswear matrimony and to accept a smaller salary than her male colleagues could plant her little shoes firmly on the path to the pinnacle. More was demanded of her. Among those outlining the qualifications that librarianship demanded was Mary W. Plummer, librarian and director of the Pratt Institute Free Library in Brooklyn. Writing in 1902, she declared:

No half-educated or uncultivated person will do—no gay young girl who takes up librarianship as a means of earning her wardrobe until the "right man" appears—no human machine who lays greater stress on the paying of a fine, or the speaking of a loud word or the use of a comma or period in the catalogue than on the supplying of intellectual and spiritual needs. If the right person is chosen as librarian, and goes to her work equipped with sympathy, insight, natural politeness, a good general education, a love and appreciation of good writing, a technical training to enable her to make the most of her resources, and a clear sense of the immense opportunity the work offers the village or town that employs her, has an agency at work as important as the school, as important as the church. In years to come, the young men and women who go out from that town, having been brought up there and educated largely by her means and by the library itself, are going to stand head and shoulders above their competitors in the work they do, because of its intelligence, its grasp, its insight.

Another writer put the requirements in briefer form:

The librarian must be by nature patient, just, generous, gentle, mild, positive, firm, rapid but not hasty in judgment, and so finely tempered that she may yield but never break.

The New York State Library School in its booklet *Librarianship: An Uncrowded Calling*, issued in 1911, although careful to nod in the direction of women, pleaded for men to join a profession that had grown to "full stature" in the preceding dozen years, "a calling" with "distinct advantages for the man or woman of good education, desiring to be of service, who is fond of books and who has executive ability."

Its ranks have been, and still are, filled chiefly with women to whom it offers attractive, useful work, at salaries which compare favorably with those paid to teachers of equal ability and personal qualities. Perhaps for this reason, perhaps because a new calling, like a new country, does not strongly attract men of marked intellectual and executive ability and studious tastes, librarianship has been overlooked by young men—the very persons to whom it offers its best chances for usefulness and success. More good, trained librarians are sorely needed. . . . People from other callings are constantly being pressed into library service. This is particularly true of men. The bald statement that men are sorely needed in library work requires the obvious and instant qualification that they must be strong men of liberal education, capacity for leadership, relish for social service, with the spiritual and the practical so blended that they may be rich in the love and knowledge of books and the life books typify and at the same time potent in bringing to pass things which shall enlarge and strengthen the worthy administration and use of books.

Librarianship was not for hedonists, warned the writer: "There is *no* room for the woman or man whose first thought is of personal ease and comfort."

Recalling the comments on women's permanence as employees, it is interesting to read in the same booklet a quotation from the annual report of the New York State Library School for 1907:

In popular apprehension library work is woman's work and it is true that a large proportion of the thousands of library workers in the country are women, including many of the most talented and useful members of the profession. At the last annual conference of the American Library Association the total attendance numbered 478. Of these 310 were women and 168 men, but of those who are registered as chief librarians there are 79 men and 78 women. These figures furnish the reason why there is great promise and opportunity for good men in library work. Men have probably always been preferred for the chief positions, but library salaries hitherto have been so

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Girl displaying the fish skeletons contributed by male relatives to her puberty ceremonial. Pere village, Manus, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by R. F. Fortune, 1929. © R. F. Fortune 1975

Sex Differences: Innate, Learned, or Situational?

by Margaret Mead

The question of how much of the behavior of women as a group, as compared with men as a group, can be attributed to innate characteristics associated with their anatomical and physiological differences, how much must be attributed to learning within a particular culture, and how much must be seen as situational is one that periodically arouses enough interest to attract the attention of a large number of research workers. This is one of those periods. Not only has International Women's Year focused the attention of the world on women, but the extraordinary rate and magnitude of transformation of the society during the last 25 years have resulted in tremendous changes in the relationships between men and women. Furthermore, discussion of the relationship between the sexes is one way of discussing problems of power, distribution of wealth, justice and injustice—all subjects which are at the center of human concern at present, as disadvantaged groups demand a greater degree of participation in decisionmaking.

The central issue can be phrased as follows: do women as a group differ from men as a group because of characteristics which are linked to the specifics of male and female physique, or are female characteristics linked to the exercise of the peculiar capacities of female physique, or are they associated with female physique merely by cultural attribution? Stated concretely, do women place more emphasis on domesticity because their bodies are formed to shelter a growing infant, do they tend to stay closer to home in the course of sheltering and caring for an infant,

do human beings in most cultures associate the sheltering and care of infants with staying closer to home, or are all three the case in various and varied ways, in different societies at different times? This is the kind of problem that cannot be resolved within one culture even by the most penetrating psychological analysis, for the growing child is exposed from birth, and to some extent before birth, to the configuration of ideas characteristic of his or her culture. The fit between the homes they keep and the children they rear is part of women's every gesture, as it is of the imagery and movement of the men with whom they make that home.

Only by the comparative study of many different societies at many different technological levels, at many different periods in history, can we hope to begin to sort out this kind of complicated issue. In this article I will give only some of the most basic findings from comparative work and try to indicate lines of research which may give us insight into some of these questions. They are important, not only because imputed differences between men as a group and women as a group are invoked to undergird customs and laws, but because in the worldwide interdependent culture which is developing, and which must have a large ingredient of conscious planning,

© Margaret Mead 1975. Anthropologist Margaret Mead is curator emeritus of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History and one of the Library's honorary consultants in American cultural history.

it is important that more be known and provision be made for these differences which are essential to the harmonious development of society, and which, if ignored, may impoverish or endanger it.

For example, as women's bodies are biologically fitted for childbearing, what are the consequences to individual women and for society if women are unable, for physical or social reasons, to bear children or are compelled to bear large numbers of children? There are slight bits of evidence that women who bear no children may be more subject to specifically feminine types of cancer, but there is no definitive evidence. There are also suggestions that after bearing a given number of children, women may have a shorter lifespan. There is the further possibility, for which again there is scattered clinical evidence, that women who are certain they will have no children or no more children, for whatever reason (hysterectomy, menopause, accepted widowhood, etc.), may become more productive or creative. These observations are all suggestive, but none are definitive.

We can raise the subject of what is called women's intuition and ask whether it is primarily a name for women's greater attention to the other person, a special quality that fits women to be attentive to the needs of the infants they must carry and rear, or is simply due to the circumstance that they themselves have been reared by women who were attentive to their needs, who because they were women, became objects of identification. If men successfully care for small infants, they must be as attentive to the infants' needs as any woman. Would then a male child identifying with an attentive, care-taking father be a man who displayed the kind of intuition which has historically been associated with women? If infants of both sexes were to be reared by parents of both sexes, with equal attention from each, would different kinds of human beings result and would temperament become more important than gender, as opposed to the present condition in which temperamental compatibility with a parent is distorted by the circumstance of being of the same or the opposite sex? (I myself was only rescued from making such a mistake because although it was clear that my mind was more like my father's than like my mother's, it was equally clear that

his mind was very much like his mother's.) Whenever the question comes up of sex limitation of identifiable abilities which are actually distributed in fair equality within each sex, it presents a problem. It will undoubtedly remain a problem in all societies in which both boys and girls are primarily cared for by women. But is it merely a function of the way children are reared, and would types of mentality or of emotional organization now attributed to women be revealed as human rather than as male or female qualities if children were given a chance at identification with both sexes during infancy and early childhood? Again we don't know.

With a full realization of how very complicated the question is, I will outline briefly what seem to be fairly consistent regularities in the relationships between the sexes, as we know them, by inference from prehistory, based on very limited evidence in history, and by detailed firsthand studies in contemporary societies. Achievement in the sense of making, doing, mastering, conquering, or creating seems to be, in all known societies, a primarily male characteristic, matching to some extent, sometimes articulately and sometimes not, the female capacity to produce human beings. This view of achievement as male is curiously unrelated to substantive matters, for the same activities—weaving, cooking, housebuilding, gardening—will be seen as matters for recognition if performed by males, and as routine maintenance activities if they are performed by women.

There is a further correlate: as society becomes more complex, the assignment of achieving roles to males means that more and more public responsibility falls to them, so that in modern industrialized and highly complex political structures, the greater preponderance of males means an increasing lack of harmonious development in matters like the production and distribution of food. At a primitive level it matters relatively little whether males or females make the baskets, although if males do, basketmaking will be recognized as an achievement, and if females make them, it will be treated as negligible. The baskets will be there in any case, to transport and store food, and there will be an effective division of labor between men and women in the production

of food, its preservation, and its distribution within the household. But if the management of food is raised to the level of international agribusiness, within which there is no representation either of women or of fields such as nutrition with which women have been associated, then the consequences may be unfortunate or even disastrous.

Here again we do not know whether males, whose bodies are shaped for action in the outer world, have a biologically given drive toward action that is greater than that of females, whether this drive results from the rearing mother who pushes the male child off her lap and urges him to leave her and achieve, or whether it results from identification with a father who was similarly reared by his mother. Possibly the male hormone, which has been reputed to provide greater drive to action and productivity—

even in females—may be responsible. Possibly if males and females were reared by both sexes and childbearing reduced to a very minor incident in the lives of a smaller proportion of women, so that many women were as free as men to achieve, this difference might disappear. Up to the present time—the recurring instances of queens, goddesses, and female heads of households notwithstanding—this tendency to view whatever men do as achievement is a constant.

Another regularity in the relationships between men and women has been that, whatever the conditions of the culture and no matter how it varies—from simple hunting and gathering to the complexities of a modern capital-

Working party of women with small children. Iatmul, Tambanum, East Sepik District, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Rhoda Metraux, 1971. © Rhoda Metraux 1975



intensive society—men have been culturally assigned tasks that involve greater strength, bigger objects, longer distances, and greater speeds. Again this is relative; the largest object that a people know how to make may be a dug-out canoe, the farthest anyone can travel may be 50 miles. But the generalization holds: when motor cars were invented, men relinquished their preponderant relationship to horses; when airplanes were invented, driving a car became something that either a man or a woman could do; astronauts, almost all male, make the role of female pilot a little easier. Again we do not know whether this insistence that the faster, farther, larger activities, including warfare and braving the hazards of the sea, should be male recurs because they have been assigned to men and so become symbols of masculinity, because

Men fishing with two-man nets at sunset for large fish that come over the reef each month. Pere village, Manus, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Margaret Mead, 1929.

women have been traditionally burdened with children, because men—on the average—are stronger than women and the average has been accepted as the norm, or because, if everything else were kept equal, men have a greater drive than women.

The last explanation would still leave us with the question of how easily a biologically given difference can be exaggerated or extinguished by culture. Women do on the average develop less muscle than men, but with assiduous cultivation women can also develop muscular strength. In Bali, where several men help in lifting heavy loads to one another's heads, the men's arms are as smooth as the women's—unless the men work as coolies in a European environment, in which case they develop the expected type of musculature. But if it takes a greater effort to stimulate some tendency in women, or to depress it in men, what are the consequences? Possibly overcoming a predisposition may provide a higher degree of drive than mere acceptance of a



sex-defined role, as we frequently see in the first women to undertake an activity that has culturally been typed as male—like welding. On the other hand, adopting a role which means a denial of a culturally, and possibly biologically, proscribed condition, may be a depressant, as when males are required to adapt to female types of activity. It may not be accidental that the production of docile and dependable caretakers was accomplished in some societies by castrating males. We have no evidence that turning females into warriors has required any such drastic measures, although there are now suggestions that women who wish to achieve in male fields should take male hormones.

So far in human history, the major discoveries in science and achievements in the arts have been male. The occasional women who achieved eminence do not seriously dispute this generalization. However, achievement by women in various fields in which they have traditionally never had an equal chance—if this be defined

evolutionarily as a chance to acquire an equally superior mate—does suggest that the two sexes may be different enough at the one-tenth of one percent level, where innovation is located, to ensure a continuing difference in such achievements. It may be that males have such an edge in disciplines where form is imposed—music, mathematics, sculpture, and painting—while females may have a corresponding edge where eminence depends upon a surrender to the subject matter rather than its mastery, as in psychology and certain kinds of literature and medicine.

Again there is no adequate data. We do know that anything men have invented—the calculus, computer programing, the formal nature of music—can be learned by women. It may be that the contributions that males and females would

Women fishing for small fish with a large fishnet. Parambei, Iatmul, East Sepik District, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Gregory Bateson, 1933. © Gregory Bateson 1975



make to any subject are sufficiently different so that females do less well in subjects which are dominated by a male cast of mind. It is certainly true that defining any subject matter as feminine is a depressant to male creativity. It may be that we have sacrificed half of our innovative potential in every field in which sex has played a dominant role. We do not know. Nor do we know whether there is a necessary relationship between commitment to a field and the existence of previous success in that field by someone of the same sex, or for that matter, caste, class, or ethnic origin. If there is only a one percent probability that males will do better than females in a particular field because they have done better than females in the past, must we resign ourselves to a lowered potential among females who are exposed to that historical fact? This would be serious for a society which needs all its resources. We know that within our own society today, the absence of what are currently called "role models" has been disastrous both for young women themselves and for the male mentors who have discouraged them.

Another cross-cultural regularity, which can be altered with effort, seems to be the greater tolerance of females for monotonous, routine activity, as opposed to the male capacity and preference for tremendous bursts of energy. Whether this is accompanied in women by a systematic lack of fitness for tasks which require primarily a capacity to mobilize for danger or maximum effort and a systematic penalty paid by men who are confined to routine maintenance tasks, we again do not know. It would only be significant either on the average or at the edges of human endeavor. Women can be trained to produce bursts of energy and are then as willing as men to sit with empty hands to recover; men can be disciplined to the most boring and repetitive tasks. The temperamental capacity for compulsive, repetitive behavior is found in some members of both sexes and may be, in relation to other temperaments, the really crucial variable, although we only notice and comment when a

man is particularly meticulous or a woman particularly energetic. In England, high-energy people are said to display *virility*; in the United States we speak of *vitality*! How much is this nomenclature simply a reflection of different sex typing in the United States and England?

One of the historical associations between sex and the natural world has been the tendency to associate women with gathering and planting vegetable foods, while men have been associated with hunting and herding. The two sets of activities cross in a multitude of ways. The generalization about males preempting or being assigned responsibilities for larger or stronger things means that men may gather larger fruit while women gather berries or, if there are various kinds of stock, chickens, goats, and sheep may be assigned to women's care while men care for cattle, horses, and camels. Although generalizations are only possible at the extremes—very small berries or very large animals—the major division holds. Not only are hunting tools exclusively male, but this distinction extends to warfare also. Only for very brief periods in history have women ever been given weapons to kill either animals or human beings.

Whether this condition is biologically based, situationally based, or purely cultural is of very great importance, for it is two-pronged. If women are so inherently opposed to killing that their presence in any deliberation would weigh on the side of peace, as many feminists have claimed, a peaceful world would be more likely if women played more of a role in decision-making. On the other hand, women may have been barred from using weapons because they lack the built-in controls on killing which men display and so would be too ferocious. Or young women during their reproductive years may be fiercely protective of their young, but postmenopausal women may be able to extend their cherishing to a whole community. Any of these possibilities have serious implications and important consequences for the way society is to be structured in the future.

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1

Shake Hands? Lithograph by Lafosse. Painted by Mrs. Lily Martin Spencer. William Schaus. 1854. LC-USZ62-16771.

2

W. F. Shaw's Patent Gas Cooking & Ironing Apparatus. Gas Smoothing-Iron, and Miniature Gas Furnace. 1858. LC-USZ62-40704.

3

[Woman with Hoe.] Drawing by Alice Barber Stephens. LC-USZ62-54590.

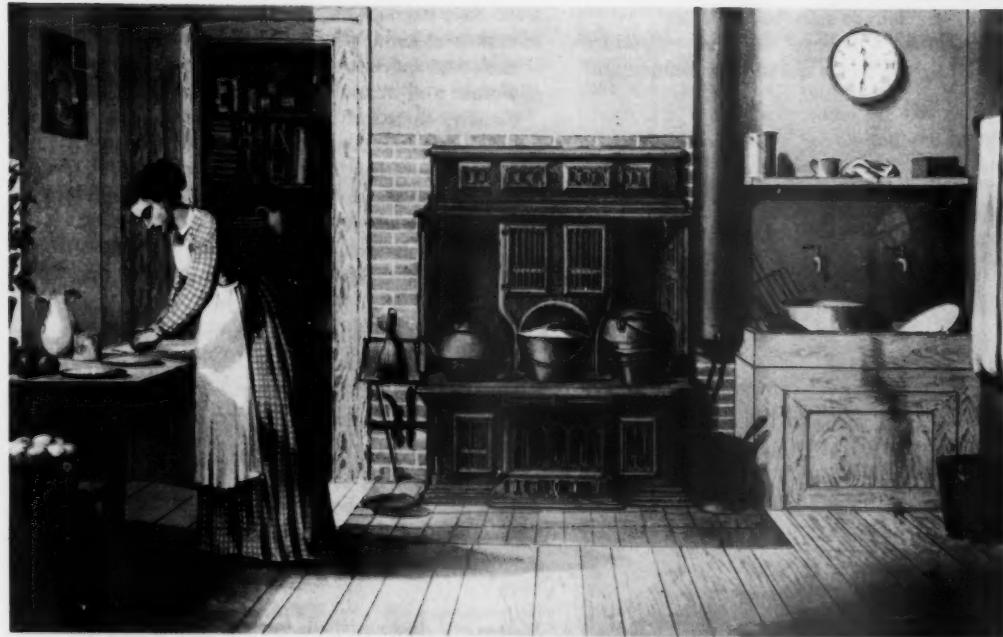
4

The Kitchen. Prang's Aids for Object Teaching; Trades & Occupations, plate 6. Lithograph by L. Prang & Co. 1874. LC-USZ62-478.

Milton Kaplan, former curator of historical prints, Prints and Photographs Division, retired December 31, 1974, to pursue an active career in independent picture research.



3



4

Cherishing and Preserving

Sex Differences and the Life of

by Rhoda Metraux

Today, as optimistic and determined groups of women in many parts of the world are committing themselves to a full redefinition of feminine roles and spheres of activity, it may well be crucial not only to consider what may be gained by women in the future but also to reconsider what women gained in the past and how what has been valuable for human life may be conserved. This is especially important because so many women in their search for recognition as whole persons have, for models, simply substituted male for female statuses and roles.

In particular, I believe we must reconsider very carefully the whole question of women and

weapons, that is, the relation between women and prohibitions against killing. Whether the circumstance that women very seldom in any culture have engaged actively in the hunt or have taken part in warfare, using weapons to kill, must be attributed to some innate difference between the female and the male capacity for aggression, as many contemporary writers have claimed, or, instead, to the necessity within small human groups of dividing the burdensome tasks of daily life, we do not know. Various explanations have been given, suited to the conceptions of male and female in specific cultures. But what is most striking is the fact itself: the antithesis of women and weapons.

Clearly, there are exceptions. Lacking sons, individual fathers have reared their daughters in the male tradition of their culture. Or as a matter of dire necessity women have learned and carried out male tasks. The Eskimo woman caught away from shelter was quite capable of building an adequate snowhouse and of hunting for food. In the absence of her father, her brother, or her husband, the American woman pioneer was quite capable of learning to use a gun in self-defense and in defense of her home. Within certain limited social circles in England it has long been the style for women to take part in the sport of fox hunting, and occasionally American fathers have taught their daughters, as well as their sons, the sport of hunting deer or shooting ducks. Nevertheless, even where this is



Mother and sleeping infant. Iatmul, Tambanum, East Sepik District, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Rhoda Metraux, 1971.

the World

so, the use of lethal weapons, whether for hunting or warfare, is associated with men.

Myth, legend, and popular tradition in many different cultures provide one useful clue to the relation of women and weapons: the exceptional woman who is associated with hunting or warfare in a positive fashion is pictured usually as a virgin or at least as a childless woman. Diana, associated in Roman mythology with hunting and wild animals, was also the goddess of chastity. The legendary swordswomen of Chinese tales were unmarried girls. And Joan of Arc, who led a victorious army, has always been pictured as the "maid of Orleans"—a virgin. What is significant is not, I think, virginity as such but that these women have foregone or have not yet entered into their reproductive role.

Another contemporary explanation of the association of weapons with men, not women, treats a spear, a sword, and a gun as extensions of the male physique and a house, a bowl, or a basket as artifacts that incorporate the sheltering characteristics of female reproductive activity. But this highly oversimplified explanation will not serve. For women have habitually used tools like digging sticks to plant yams or maize, knives to cut up food or to work skins, and rolling pins—the high comedy weapon of the angry housewife. All these are, in one sense, analogous to the weapons used by man. In another sense they are quite different, for they are used by women to prepare the ground, the food, the skins, or other materials for human use. That is, they are related to women's activities as conservers.

And it is the woman's role as the conserver of life that is here the essential and historically and cross-culturally relevant consideration. The

striking and continuous avoidance by women of involvement in killing has always and everywhere been related, it appears to me, to their most crucial and difficult life task—that of keeping alive the fragile human infant.

It is so easy to forget, in a society in which it is medically possible to keep alive a very premature or even a very severely incapacitated infant, just how difficult it was—and still is in vast areas of the world—to keep a young child alive without any kind of scientific medical support. But it is perfectly intelligible to anyone who has lived in a primitive community that a woman's sphere is a domestic one in all the years that she cares for an infant and a small child which she must carry wherever she goes, feed whenever it is hungry, and somehow coax back to health, if she can, when it falls ill. And anyone who has read the inscriptions on the small tombstones of an old country churchyard can easily grasp how frail was a child's hold on life and how concentrated a woman's concern for the life of children had to be if communities were to survive. In such settings it becomes intelligible that throughout human history, as far as we know or can guess, women have responded by treating as wholly incompatible the task of actively keeping an infant alive and active engagement in killing any living thing, however necessary and justified.

In both war and the hunt, men always have set limits and bound themselves by carefully articulated rules about the kinds of killing that

© Rhoda Metraux 1975. Anthropologist Rhoda Metraux is research associate at the American Museum of Natural History.

were and were not justified, were and were not honorable. So, also, when men began to care for human beings—as the curer became the healer and no longer was the sorcerer who had the power to undo the harm he, or another like him, had done—they spelled out the rules that safeguarded both patient and healer. In Western cultures, the Hippocratic oath became the model of the physician's commitment to life under all circumstances. It is significant also that in Western cultures the physician, as healer, has as a rule gone unarmed in warfare and that his immunity extends to those who rescue the wounded, identify the dead, and supervise the care of men captured and disarmed. The physician, who is entrusted with the power of life and death, must never kill. And in the special circumstances of war, where armed men are enjoined to kill, the physician and all those associated with him in preserving life are protected by explicit rules from killing and from being killed.

Where women in the reproductive, caring roles are concerned, the rules are implicit and not spelled out. But the formal rules, as they have been incorporated in male cherishing and protective behavior, can very well be regarded as explicit counterparts of the sense, carried inarticulately from generation to generation by

women through their childcarrying activities, that life-conserving and life-destroying activities and roles are antithetical. And it is very likely that male cherishing of life derives from and continues to depend upon maternal life conservation.

This is reflected in the ordinary division of labor. For example, where men hunt, women may fish, but they deal only with the smaller fish that may be caught in nets, in weirs, in fish traps, or even by hand and let die. As soon as it comes to the large fish—the game fishes of modern sport—men take over. (But it is also apparent, today, that there are temperamental differences between the men who choose game fishing and hunting as sports and those who fish in smaller streams and lakes.)

So also the butchering of animals is regularly a man's task. Women usually deal only with meat that is already prepared for domestic cooking or smoking purposes. The association between butchery that has gone wildly astray and the death of children is vividly dramatized in Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, in which the butcher-

Modern parenthood in which both parents participate. Craftsbury, Vermont. Photographs by Judith and Daniel Metraux, 1975.

© Judith Metraux 1975, right

© Daniel Metraux 1975, below



ing of a domestic pig both symbolizes the horror of a totally false and destructive woman and prefigures the horror of a male child's misunderstanding, when he responds to a total loss of trust in maternal responsibility as he understands it by hanging the younger children.

Probably we shall never know whether the antipathy between cherishing and killing, as it has been found among women in virtually every culture we know of, is innate or is carried from generation to generation, from mother to daughter, as a continuing learned experience. But we do know that males, too, can learn and have greatly expanded in the public world parallel forms of protective, cherishing behavior. What we do not know is whether this behavior would—or could—be carried by men in the absence of life-cherishing maternal care.

It is possible that the passionate domesticity and the insistence on large families and on the preeminence of the family over other concerns which swept much of the world in the aftermath of World War II (as happened after other wars, too) was a first crude response of revulsion to the extreme destructiveness of the new weapons, including the atomic and hydrogen bombs, and their impersonality. Among some young people

this led to a kind of nurturing fatherhood that was quite new in Western cultures. But with the limitation of the world's space and resources, we cannot deal safely with such a literal acting out of sentiment.

And certainly now that women are being released from the absolute necessity of childbearing and childrearing, many more women will choose to live a life that is not essentially domestic. Actually, it will be quite possible for both men and women, as adults, to live wholly removed from infants and children—from human beings in the process of becoming. Looking to the past, we can hypothesize that this may be extraordinarily dangerous for continued human existence. But this need not be the outcome. For we can also look ahead and devise ways in which men as well as women who are not parents may be meaningfully related to children and those who are intimately concerned with the rearing of children. By extension, we can develop an ethic that is common to both women and men as conservers related to the life of the whole natural world of which human beings are the most conscious part.

But this depends on the choices we, especially women, make now.



WOMAN

as Wife

by Milton Kaplan



5

The Young Housekeepers. The Day after Marriage.
Lithographed by Nathaniel Currier. 1848. LC-USZ6-361.

6

Hovey's Cocoa Glycerine For Preserving & Dressing
the Hair. Lithograph by John H. Bufford. 1860. LC-
USZ62-4624.

7

The last Request. Lithograph by Fenderich & Wild.
n.d. LC-USZ62-54598.

8

Reading the Scriptures. Lithographed by Nathaniel
Currier. n.d. LC-USZ62-02874.

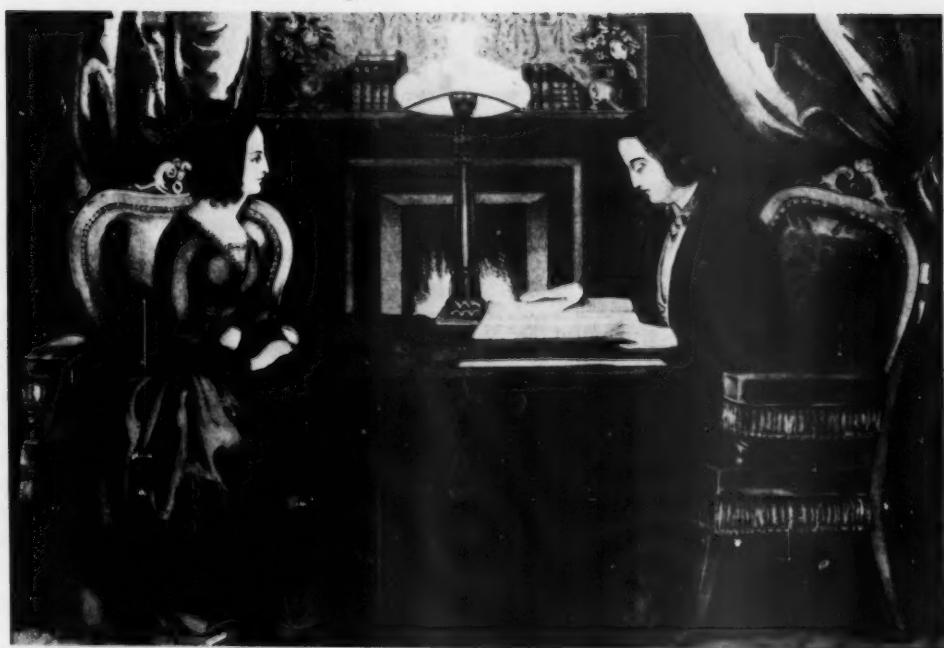


For Preserving & Dressing The
HAIR.

6



7



8

In Different Directions

by Gwendolyn Brooks

I would like the poems . . . to "stand on their own," without further wordage from me.

the mother

Abortions will not let you forget.
 You remember the children you got that you
 did not get,
 The damp small pulps with a little or with no
 hair,
 The singers and workers that never handled the
 air.
 You will never neglect or beat
 Them, or silence or buy with a sweet.
 You will never wind up the sucking-thumb
 Or scuttle off ghosts that come.
 You will never leave them, controlling your
 luscious sigh,
 Return for a snack of them, with gobbling
 mother-eye.

Gwendolyn Brooks, a Pulitzer prizewinner in poetry, is an honorary consultant in American letters to the Library of Congress.

I have heard in the voices of the wind the voices
 of my dim killed children.

I have contracted. I have eased
 My dim dears at the breasts they could never
 suck.

I have said, Sweets, if I sinned, if I seized
 Your luck
 And your lives from your unfinished reach,
 If I stole your births and your names,
 Your straight baby tears and your games,
 Your stilted or lovely loves, your tumults, your
 marriages, aches, and your deaths,
 If I poisoned the beginnings of your breaths,
 Believe that even in my deliberateness I was not
 deliberate.

Though why should I whine,
 Whine that the crime was other than mine?—
 Since anyhow you are dead.
 Or rather, or instead,
 You were never made.

But that, too, I am afraid,
 Is faulty: oh, what shall I say, how is the truth
 to be said?

You were born, you had body, you died.
 It is just that you never giggled or planned or
 cried.

Believe me, I loved you all.
 Believe me, I knew you, though faintly, and I
 loved, I loved you
 All.

From the book *The World of Gwendolyn Brooks* (1971). Copyright © 1946 by Gwendolyn Brooks Blakely. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

The Life of Lincoln West

Ugliest little boy
that everyone ever saw.
That is what everyone said.

Even to his mother it was apparent—
when the blue-aproned nurse came into the
northeast end of the maternity ward
bearing his squeals and plump bottom
looped up in a scant receiving blanket,
bending, to pass the bundle carefully
into the waiting mother-hands—that this
was no cute little ugliness, no sly baby
waywardness

that was going to inch away
as would baby fat, baby curl, and
baby spot-rash. The pendulous lip, the
branching ears, the eyes so wide and wild,
the vague unvibrant brown of the skin,
and, most disturbing, the great head.
These components of That Look bespoke
the sure fibre. The deep grain.

His father could not bear the sight of him.
His mother high-piled her pretty dyed hair and
put him among her hairpins and sweethearts,
dance slippers, torn paper roses.
He was not less than these,
he was not more.

As the little Lincoln grew,
uglily upward and out, he began
to understand that something was
wrong. His little ways of trying
to please his father, the bringing
of matches, the jumping aside at
warning sound of oh-so-large and
rushing stride, the smile that gave
and gave and gave—Unsuccessful!

Even Christmases and Easters were spoiled.
He would be sitting at the
family feasting table, really
delighting in the displays of mashed potatoes
and the rich golden
fat-crust of the ham or the festive
fowl, when he would look up and find
somebody feeling indignant about him.

What a pity what a pity. No love
for one so loving. The little Lincoln
loved Everybody. Ants. The changing
caterpillar. His much-missing mother.
His kindergarten teacher.

His kindergarten teacher—whose
concern for him was composed of one
part sympathy and two parts repulsion.
The others ran up with their little drawings.
He ran up with his.

She
tried to be as pleasant with him as
with others, but it was difficult.
For she was all pretty! all daintiness,
all tiny vanilla, with blue eyes and fluffy
sun-hair. One afternoon she
saw him in the hall looking bleak against
the wall. It was strange because the
bell had long since rung and no other
child was in sight. Pity flooded her.
She buttoned her gloves and suggested
cheerfully that she walk him home. She
started out bravely, holding him by the
hand. But she had not walked far before
she regretted it. The little monkey.
Must everyone look? And clutching her
hand like that . . . Literally pinching
it . . .

At seven, the little Lincoln loved
the brother and sister who
moved next door. Handsome. Well-dressed.
Charitable, often, to him. They
enjoyed him because he was
resourceful, made up
games, told stories. But when
their More Acceptable friends came they turned
their handsome backs on him. He
hated himself for his feeling
of well-being when with them despite—
Everything.

He spent much time looking at himself
in mirrors. What could be done?
But there was no
shrinking his head. There was no
binding his ears.

"Don't touch me!" cried the little
fairy-like being in the playground.

Her name was Nerissa. The many
children were playing tag, but when
he caught her, she recoiled, jerked free
and ran. It was like all the
rainbow that ever was, going off
forever, all, all the sparklings in
the sunset west.

One day, while he was yet seven,
a thing happened. In the down-town movies
with his mother a white
man in the seat beside him whispered
loudly to a companion, and pointed at
the little Linc.
"THERE! That's the kind I've been wanting
to show you! One of the best
examples of the specie. Not like
those diluted Negroes you see so much of on
the streets these days, but the
real thing.
Black, ugly, and odd. You
can see the savagery. The blunt
blankness. That is the real
thing."

His mother—her hair had never looked so
red around the dark brown
velvet of her face—jumped up,
shrieked "Go to—" She did not finish.
She yanked to his feet the little
Lincoln, who was sitting there
staring in fascination at his assessor. At the author
of his
new idea.

All the way home he was happy. Of course,
he had not liked the word
"ugly."

But, after all, should he not
be used to that by now? What had
struck him, among words and meanings
he could little understand, was the phrase
"the real thing."
He didn't know quite why,
but he liked that.
He liked that very much.

When he was hurt, too much
stared at—
too much
left alone—he
thought about that. He told himself
"After all, I'm
the real thing."

It comforted him.

RIOT

A POEM IN THREE PARTS

Riot

The Third Sermon on the Warpland

An Aspect of Love, Alive in the Ice and Fire

RIOT

A riot is the language of the unheard.

—MARTIN LUTHER KING

John Cabot, out of Wilma, once a Wycliffe,
all whitebluerose below his golden hair,
wrapped richly in right linen and right wool,
almost forgot his Jaguar and Lake Bluff;
almost forgot Grandtully (which is The
Best Thing That Ever Happened To Scotch);
almost

forgot the sculpture at the Richard Gray
and Distelheim; the kidney pie at Maxim's,
the Grenadine de Boeuf at Maison Henri.

Because the Negroes were coming down the
street.

Because the Poor were sweaty and unpretty
(not like Two Dainty Negroes in Winnetka)
and they were coming toward him in rough
ranks.

In seas. In windsweep. They were black and
loud.

And not detainable. And not discreet.

Gross. Gross. "*Que tu es grossier!*" John Cabot
itched instantly beneath the nourished white
that told his story of glory to the World.
"Don't let It touch me! the blackness! Lord!" he
whispered
to any handy angel in the sky.

But, in a thrilling announcement, on It drove
and breathed on him: and touched him. In that
breath

the fume of pig foot, chitterling and cheap chili,
malign, mocked John. And, in terrific touch, old
averted doubt jerked forward decently,
cried "Cabot! John! You are a desperate man,
and the desperate die expensively today."

John Cabot went down in the smoke and fire
and broken glass and blood, and he cried "Lord!
Forgive these niggahs that know not what
they do."

THE THIRD SERMON ON THE WARPLAND

Phoenix

"In Egyptian mythology, a bird which lived for five hundred years and then consumed itself in fire, rising renewed from the ashes."

—WEBSTER

The earth is a beautiful place.
Watermirrors and things to be reflected.
Goldenrod across the little lagoon.

The Black Philosopher says
"Our chains are in the keep of the Keeper
in a labeled cabinet
on the second shelf by the cookies,
sonatas, the arabesques . . .
There's a rattle, sometimes.
You do not hear it who mind only
cookies and crunch them.
You do not hear the remarkable music—'A
Death Song For You Before You Die.'
If you could hear it
you would make music too.
The *blackblues*."

West Madison Street.
In "Jessie's Kitchen"
nobody's eating Jessie's Perfect Food.
Crazy flowers
cry up across the sky, spreading
and hissing *This is
it.*

The young men run.

They will not steal Bing Crosby but will steal
Melvin Van Peebles who made Lillie
a thing of Zampoughi a thing of red wiggles and
trebles
(and I know there are twenty wire stalks sticking
out of her head
as her underfed haunches jerk jazz.)

A clean riot is not one in which little rioters
long-stomped, long-straddled, BEANLESS
but knowing no Why

go steal in hell
a radio, sit to hear James Brown
and Mingus, Young-Holt, Coleman, John,
on V.O.N.

and sun themselves in Sin.

However, what
is going on
is going on.

Fire.
That is their way of lighting candles in the
darkness.

A White Philosopher said
'It is better to light one candle than curse the
darkness.'

These candles curse—
inverting the deeps of the darkness.

GUARD HERE, GUNS LOADED.
The young men run.
The children in ritual chatter
scatter upon
their Own and old geography.

The Law comes sirenning across the town.

A woman is dead.
Motherwoman.
She lies among the boxes
(that held the haughty hats, the Polish sausages)
in newish, thorough, firm virginity
as rich as fudge is if you've had five pieces.
Not again shall she
partake of steak
on Christmas mornings, nor of nighttime
chicken and wine at Val Gray Ward's
nor say
of Mr. Beetley, Exit Jones, Junk Smith
nor neat New-baby Williams (man-to-many)
"He treat me right."

That was a gut gal.

**AN ASPECT OF LOVE,
ALIVE IN THE ICE AND FIRE**

LaBohem Brown

"We'll do an us!" yells Yancey, a twittering twelve.

"Instead of your deathintheafternoon,
kill'm, Bull!
kill'm, Bull!"

The Black Philosopher blares
"I tell you, exhaustive black integrity
would assure a blackless America. . . ."

Nine die, Sun-Times will tell
and will tell too
in small black-bordered oblongs "*Rumor? check
it at 744-4111.*"

A Poem to Peanut.

"Cooooool!" purrs Peanut. Peanut is Richard—a Ranger and a gentleman. A Signature. A Herald. And a Span. This Peanut will not let his men explode. And Rico will not. Neither will Sengali. Nor Bop nor Jeff, Geronimo nor Lover. These merely peer and purr, and pass the Passion over. The Disciples stir and thousandfold confer with ranging Rangermen; mutual in their "Yeah!—this AIN'T all upinheah!"

"But WHY do These People offend *themselves?*"
say they
who say also "It's time.
It's time to help
These People."

Lies are told and legends made.
Phoenix rises unafraid.

The Black Philosopher will remember:
"There they came to life and exulted,
the hurt mute.
Then it was over.

The dust, as they say, settled."

It is the morning of our love.

In a package of minutes there is this We.
How beautiful.
Merry foreigners in our morning,
we laugh, we touch each other,
are responsible props and posts.

A physical light is in the room.

Because the world is at the window
we cannot wonder very long.

You rise. Although
genial, you are in yourself again.
I observe
your direct and respectable stride.
You are direct and self-accepting as a lion
in African velvet. You are level, lean,
remote.

There is a moment in Camaraderie
when interruption is not to be understood.
I cannot bear an interruption.
This is the shining joy;
the time of not-to-end.

On the street we smile.
We go
in different directions
down the imperturbable street.

WOMAN

as Mother

by Milton Kaplan

9

And The Star-Spangled Banner. Engraved by George E. Perine. Published by William Pate. 1861. LC-USZ62-5264.

10

The Mother's Blessing. Lithograph by Currier & Ives. n.d. LC-USZ6-354.



11

"Her face was dark with heat and streaked with perspiration," a drawing by F. C. Yohn for *Mother* by Kathleen Norris, reproduced in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, August 1912. LC-USZ62-54595.

12

Chippeway Squaw & Child. Lithographed by John T. Bowen. Published in Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America, 1838-44*. LC-USZ62-54593.

13

Mother and Child. Lithographed by Nathaniel Currier. 1846. LC-USZ6-353.

14

An Increase of Family. Lithograph by Currier & Ives. 1863. LC-USZ62-8931.



9

10



11



12



13



14

Three Poems of Salvation

by Josephine Jacobsen

Talking about one of my poems makes me healthily nervous—it is such dangerous work. Dangerous to the poem, which may be destroyed by imputing to it more than it can justify, or by denigrating its irreducible core of mystery; dangerous to the poet, who can become pontifical in retrospect where she was honest in practice. Brevity can do much to curtail both dangers.

I chose these three poems not only because I care, particularly, for the poems themselves, but also because, taken together, they seem to me to represent a sort of widening circle with ripples spreading out from the initial impact to larger areas, yet still part of one initial impulse.

All three are poems of salvation.

The Shade-Seller is a dream-poem, a poem of one person's sense of need for the salvation of relief; *The Lovers* is a poem about the salvation, through each other, of two people, lovers. *In the Crevice of Time* is a poem about the salvation of the human identity through community.

Josephine Jacobsen served as the Library's consultant in poetry in English from 1971 to 1973 and is now an honorary consultant in American letters.

The Shade-Seller is both a dream-poem and a story-poem. The skeletal story is exact: the habit of the comforting presence of shade; the small, dark seller of blessed protection; the belated arrival when the seller is no longer empowered to sell; the inferno of exposure; the deceptive ease of controlled escape. The real figure of the shade-seller himself, as haunting to me as was the train-tapping mujik to Anna, reappeared in my dreams. And then what was right happened: the poem grew out of the physical with its simple details, and retained its physical images, but struck down its roots into the sense of suffering, necessity, and hope. The hope is predominant; the fatal three words are not repeated in the poem—only counted, divisive as against the single.

As the lines of the ripples widen, the lines of the poem's stanzas multiply and weigh.

In *The Lovers* there is almost a parallel in movement: the induced, superficial hope or confidence; its failure; and below the failure a satisfaction, this time achieved rather than longed for.

After the sensation of timeless and invulnerable joy comes the true world—the newspaper, the crucifix, the hunger, hunting in the cold field, and the unsheltering universe. Time ticks in the lovers' wrists, killing them patiently:

cold dust blows from the stars, cold iron
roars through space . . .

The security was false. But the individual lovers in this moment escape death by dying into each other:

who were two have died, and are safe in
a single breath: they are discovered, found,
with all the lost.

In *In the Crevice of Time* the community of lovers has widened into the community of the race. We are so new, so nakedly new on our planet. On a star more than three billion years old, still we tend to think in terms of centuries, even of decades.

André Malraux, in *Les Voix du Silence*, has a marvelous passage about the connection between art and the first burial rites. The recognition and formulation of the uniqueness of loss is a gigantic divide in the territory of animal-into-human consciousness. Both relatively and honestly, we are so near to the dim figure rearing up to face the understanding of the death-sentence, on oneself, on the Other—the loved, unique creature gone and irreplaceable. Every motion towards art comes from a unique experience, and the recognition of this is the basis of the community of emotion, the community of art.

Some poets write poems overtly concerned with the community of groups, of minds, of issues. Others try to write of the roots of the community itself. Both must know that any poetry cut off either from the sense of the unique, or from the sense of the communal, withers slowly or at once:

his art an act of faith, his grave
an act of art; for all,
for all, a celebration and a burial.

The Shade-Seller

For A. R. Ammons

"Sombra?"
he asked us from his little booth. And shade
we bought to leave our car in.

By noon
the sand was a mealy fire; we crossed by planks
to the Revolcadero sea.

One day
we were later and hotter; and he peered out
and "No hay sombra!" he told us.

That day
when we came back to our metal box, frightened
we breathed for a terrible instant

the air
fiery and loud of the hooked fish.
Quick! Quick! Our silver key!

Sometimes
now I dream of the shade-seller; from his dark
he leans, and "sombra . . ." I tell him.

There is
candescent sand and a great noise of heat
and it is I who speak that word

heavy
and wide and green. O may he never
answer my one with three.

The Lovers

The lovers lie in the shelter of night, the lovers
lie in each other's arms in night's crux:
the clock stopped and stars still and fire
unlit, in each other's arms lie the lovers.

Still clock and stopped stars are not true:
cold dust blows from the stars, cold iron roars
through space, time ticks trapped in the two
lovers' wrists. False, stopped clock and still stars.

On the cold hearth, to kindle the lovers' fire,
stuffed under logs lie inky rage and retribution;
on a nail on the wall, stretched arms and folded
feet
hang and motionlessly reproduce an execution.

Here the stars make no sound, there is no wind,
no clock.

Once an animal cried out in the tall cold meadow
grass, beyond the glass cried out, addressing owl
or fox.

Who will stay the lovers in their single shadow?

The lovers lie in the shelter of their deaths;
though they move, now, to part, it is a feint at
most:
who were two have died, and are safe in a single
breath:
they are discovered, found with all the lost.

From the book *The Shade-Seller: New and Selected Poems*. Copyright © 1965 by Commonwealth Publishing Company, Inc. Published by Doubleday & Company, Inc.

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In the Crevice of Time**For Elliott Coleman**

The bison, or tiger, or whatever beast
hunting or hunted, and the twiggy hunter
with legs and spear, in the still caves of Spain
wore out the million rains of summer
and the mean mists of winter:
the frightening motion of the hunter-priest

who straight in the instant between blood and
breath
saw frozen there not shank or horn or hide
but an arrangement of these by him, and he
himself
there with them, watched by himself inside
the terrible functionless whole
in an offering strange as some new kind of death.

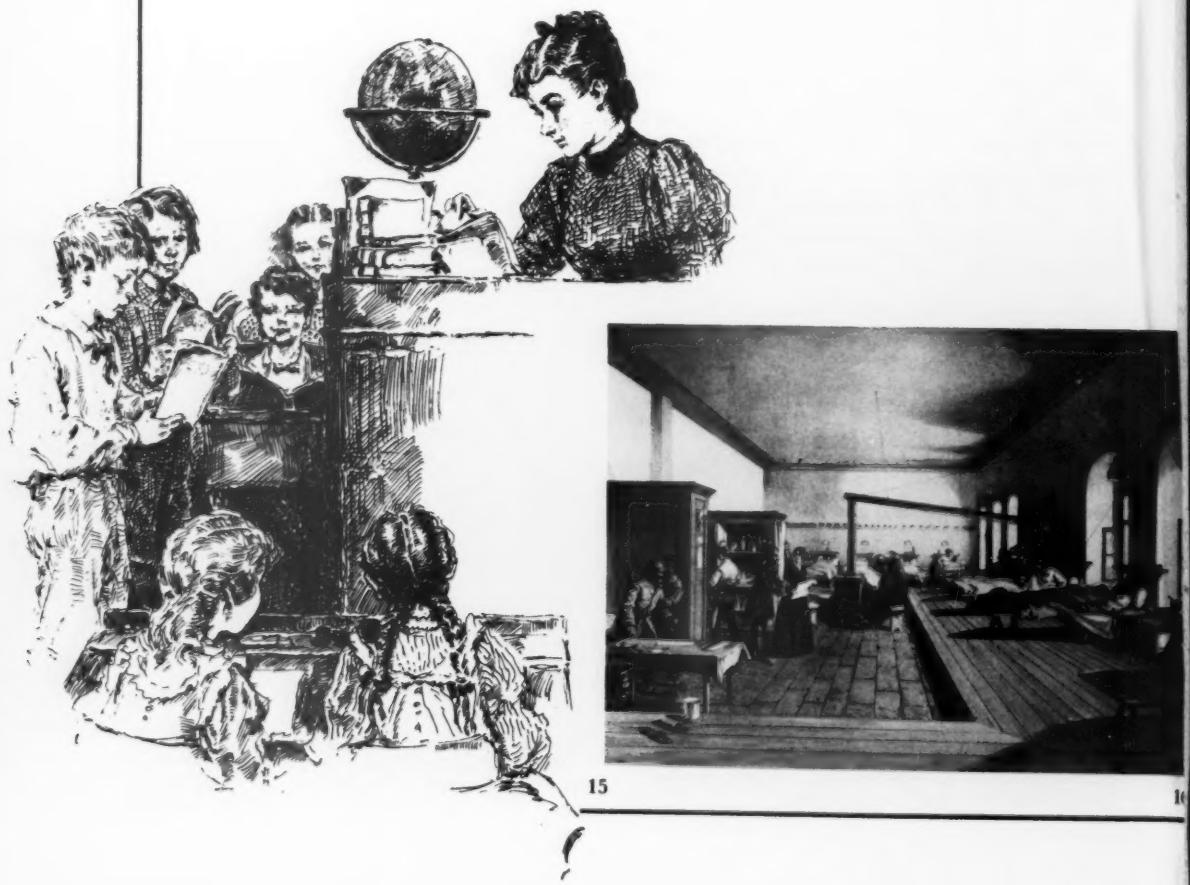
The thick gross early form that made a grave
said in one gesture, "neither bird nor leaf."
The news no animal need bear was out:
the knowledge of death, and time the wicked
thief,
and the prompt monster of foreseeable grief:
it was the tentative gesture that he gave.

Our hulking confrère scraping the wall,
piling the dust over the motionless face:
in the abyss of time how he is close,
his art an act of faith, his grave
an act of art: for all,
for all, a celebration and a burial.

WOMAN

as Mentor

by Milton Kaplan



15

"I received an appointment as teacher in a district school," drawing by John Wolcott Adams, for "The Log Cabin Lady," in *The Delineator*, December 1921. LC-USZ62-34839.

16

One of the Wards of the Hospital at Scutari. Lithograph by E. Walker of a drawing by W. Simpson. Printed by Day & Son. 1856. LC-USZ62-11313.

17

Mrs. Juliann Jane Tillman. Preacher of the A.M.E. Church. Lithograph by A. Hoffy. Printed by P.S. Duval. 1844. LC-USZ62-54596.

18

The Slum Work of the Salvation Army—Scene at a Prayer-Service in the Slum District of New York. Reproduction in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 20, 1894, of a drawing by Miss G. A. Davis. LC-USZ62-2173.

19

"Dorothy Busy in the Library," drawing by Alice Barber Stephens for George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. LC-USZ62-54592.



17



18



19

Women in the Era of the

by James H. Hutson

The thesis of this paper is that the women's suffrage movement, more than a half century after the passage of the 19th amendment, is still dictating the shape and character of today's writing about women during the era of the American Revolution. Specifically, it is my contention that it is the *History of Woman Suffrage*, the massive work of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joselyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, which is reaching across the years to guide the pens of today's writers. To claim this is to ascribe to these volumes a sovereignty few books in American history have enjoyed, for the most influential interpretative works have not survived a generation without being challenged and undermined, in whole or in part. The influence of Mrs. Stanton and her colleagues is a compliment to them, but a reproach to contemporary writers on women's history, because the *History of Woman Suffrage*, for all its value as a collection of source material, is a confession, a creedal statement of a sect. And much of it is propaganda. Thus, in accepting (in many cases unwittingly) the formulations of Mrs. Stanton and her assistants, today's writers on women in the Revolutionary era are suffragists, purveying as history the propaganda of another age.

One of the first persons to produce a reasonably balanced account of women during the American Revolution was, fittingly enough, the son of Abigail Adams. In a marathon speech before the House of Representatives in 1838, defending the right of petition as it related to the annexation of Texas, John Quincy Adams presented a remarkable capsule history of women, which was published and widely read.¹ Beginning with the Old Testament prophet, Miriam,

Adams celebrated in turn the achievements of the women of Greece, Rome, Western Europe, and the United States in a manner which anticipated Sarah Josepha Hale's immensely popular *Woman's Record* (1853). The sources which Adams used were, in addition to his childhood memories, David Ramsay's *History of South-Carolina* (1809), William Johnson's *Life of Nathanael Greene* (1822), and John Marshall's *Life of George Washington* (1804-7). By showing that during the Revolution women "felt the impulse of patriotism, and manifested it in action they entered into the hottest political controversies of the time,"² Adams meant to refute the claims of the congressional proponents of Texas annexation that the women petitioning against it were disgracing their sex. Not at all, he retorted, the women of the 1830's were doing no more than their grandmothers had done during the Revolution. Adams, in other words, was using the Revolution to justify women's political activities, thereby affording an early example of the American habit of invoking what Edmund S. Morgan has called the "sanctifying power" of the American Revolution on behalf of controversial causes.³

The first comprehensive study of women during the American Revolution appeared a decade after Adams' speech. *The Women of the American Revolution*, by Elizabeth F. Ellet, was published in three volumes between 1848 and 1850. In the latter year, Mrs. Ellet produced a *Domestic History of the American Revolution*, an abridgment of the larger work, which also amplified it by including fresh material. That Mrs. Ellet's work appeared in 1848, the year of the first Woman's Rights Convention, seems to have been coincidental, for she was not a disciple of

American Revolution

The Historian as Suffragist

the fledgling movement.⁴ A New Yorker who wrote romantic poetry and literary criticism, she turned her hand to history while her husband was teaching in South Carolina. The volumes which resulted are second in importance only to the *History of Woman Suffrage* in influencing the writing about women during the Revolution. Mrs. Ellet's works are the data banks from which subsequent writers have retrieved their information about Revolutionary women and events. The authors of the *History of Woman Suffrage* were heavily indebted to her, as were Harry Clinton and Mary Wolcott Green, whose three-volume study entitled *The Pioneer Mothers of America* (1912) is, at times, a paraphrase of Mrs. Ellet. In many cases the retrieval from Mrs. Ellet has been at second and third hand, her material being incorporated by other writers without acknowledgment and then borrowed by still later writers who have no notion of its provenance.⁵ It is safe to say that Mrs. Ellet's work mentions virtually every individual and episode which appear in present-day accounts of women during the Revolution and many more which do not.

As she began collecting data for her history, Mrs. Ellet was intimidated by the difficulties she confronted. "The apparent dearth of information was at first almost disheartening," she related. She consulted, in addition to the works Adams used, Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America* (1822), which contains a long section on "The Conduct of the Whig Ladies," and the recently published letters of Abigail Adams and Eliza Wilkinson. Then, she solicited reminiscences about women in the Revolution from those whom she considered reliable sources.⁶

She obtained a prodigious amount of information from her informants. Numerous were the stories of women in arms, from the Massachusetts matrons who, in the absence of their soldier husbands, mustered to deny the British passage of a key bridge, to the Martin sisters of South Carolina, whose husbands also being absent, donned their uniforms and ambushed and captured an important British courier and two officers conveying him.⁷ Female guile, consecrated to the cause of patriotism, was celebrated: a detachment of the American Army, retreating from Long Island, was alleged to have been saved by a Mrs. Robert Murray, who detained the officers of the pursuing British Army for precious hours by the charms of her conversation and the delectability of her refreshments; a similar service was said to have been rendered Thomas Jefferson and the members of the Virginia legislature by a Mrs. Walker, who stalled Tarleton until the Americans fled Charlottesville.⁸ Women serving as unpaid intelligence agents were enshrined in many memories; several stories had women overhearing plans for an attack on an American encampment and successfully racing the enemy to deliver word of the impending assault.⁹ The most famous exploit of this sort was that of the Quaker matron Lydia Darragh, who is said to have overheard, in her home which the British had commandeered, a late-night parley about the projected attack on Washington at Whitemarsh Creek and to have stolen out of town to apprise the American general of the British plans.¹⁰

Oral tradition has never fared well in the hands of professional historians; therefore, they

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have resisted using Mrs. Ellet's materials which have been based on it. A Deborah Sampson or a Margaret Corbin, both of whom Mrs. Ellet covers,¹¹ will be found in present-day accounts of women of the Revolution, but only because their careers can be documented in government pension records. The remaining heroines of Mrs. Ellet's pantheon disappear, although occasional candles are lit for them in genealogies, romantic fiction, and in the writings of a pair of World War II intelligence operatives, John Bakeless and Corey Ford,¹² who are interested in the history of espionage in general and of espionage in the American Revolution in particular.

These men are popular historians in the best sense of the term; writers who base their narratives on extensive work in the original sources, but who ignore some of the conventions which make many "professional" historians unreadable. Their books on espionage during the Revolution teem with women spies, both patriot and Tory. Both men have uncovered in the records of British and American intelligence services heroic women of whom neither Mrs. Ellet nor any other writer has been aware. Bakeless, in fact, has discovered one Ann Bates, a Philadelphia school teacher in the pay of the British, whom he acclaims as the "most successful female spy in history."¹³ He has also examined the career of Lydia Darragh and finds information in the contemporary records of American intelligence officers which tends to confirm the accounts of her exploits. It was, of course, neither his nor Ford's intention to validate the traditions recorded by Mrs. Ellet, but their work suggests that validation is possible and that, by ignoring traditional accounts, professional historians have significantly impoverished the record of women during the Revolution.

The *History of Woman Suffrage*, published in 1881, immediately supplanted Mrs. Ellet's volumes—and all others—as the premier work on women in American history. It was, and to some extent still is, "the great arsenal of facts" about women in America, as Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., called it.¹⁴ Many books, such as *The Woman Movement in America* (1911), by Belle Squire, have been directly distilled from it, but its influence has been exerted even more strongly by borrowing at second and third hand, as has been the case with Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Ameri-*

can Revolution. The major element in the book's extraordinary influence, however, has been the fact that most subsequent writers of women's history have been women who identify with Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony, who rightly regard them as patron saints in the continuing struggle to improve women's lot, and who therefore tend to accept their work uncritically.

Such a practice is dangerous, because the *History of Woman Suffrage* has all the liabilities of a book written by leaders of a movement in the heat of battle; at the time of its composition Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and their assistants were the captains of the National Woman Suffrage Association, striving to advance the cause of women against the massed opposition of the nation's males and the tactical opposition of the American Woman Suffrage Association. The *History of Woman Suffrage* was, therefore, written to promote the authors' cause; it was both a sprawling manifesto, articulating their principles, and propaganda designed to rally adherents to them.

The American Revolution bulked large in the *History of Woman Suffrage* because it was one of the major weapons in the hands of the women's rights leaders. They were constantly compelled to rebut the charge that their movement was "the willful outburst of a few unbalanced minds, whose ideas can never be realized under any form of government."¹⁵ What better way to counter these accusations than to show that the women's movement was the "legitimate outgrowth of American ideas"? And what better way to do this than to wrap it in the words of the Founding Fathers. "Woman's political equality with man," the *History of Woman Suffrage* insisted, "is the legitimate outgrowth of the fundamental principles of our Government, clearly set forth in the Declaration of Independence in 1776 [and] in the United States Constitution. . . ."¹⁶ The first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, N.Y., issued its manifesto in the form of the Declaration of Independence.¹⁷ And the rhetoric of the movement was replete with the slogans of the Revolution: "ours is a government professedly resting on the consent of the governed. Woman is surely as competent to give that consent as man. Our Revolution claimed that taxation and representation shall be coextensive. While the property and labor of

woman are subject to taxation, she is entitled to a voice in fixing the amount of taxes. . . ." ¹⁸ The women's rights leaders, in other words, used the sanctifying power of the Revolution as liberally as the wondrous elixirs which their contemporaries constantly quaffed.

They also used the Revolution to promote their cause by the extraordinary way in which they pictured women's role in it. In the *History of Woman Suffrage* all American women were patriots, "as active, earnest, determined, and self-sacrificing as the men." ¹⁹ Why, it was asked, "should not the American Revolution have been successful, when women so nobly sustained republican principles, taking the initiative in self-sacrifice and pointing the path to man by patriotic example?" ²⁰ When embarrassing exceptions to female patriotism were found, they were ignored or their perpetrators were posthumously converted to the American cause. Take the Loyalist printer Margaret Draper, whose Tory paper *The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter*, published under the patronage of General Gage, was the only newspaper to appear during the American siege of the city. The authors of the *History of Woman Suffrage* chastised those historians who, "ignoring woman after man's usual custom, have neglected to mention the fact that every paper in Boston was suspended during the invasion by the British, except the chief rebel newspaper (italics mine) of New England, *The Massachusetts Gazette and North Briton News-Letter*, owned and operated by a woman, Margaret Draper." ²¹

The purpose of Mrs. Stanton and her coadjutors in exhibiting and, when necessary, manufacturing female patriotism was plain: to prove that women had earned the rights they were demanding. But the spread-eagle patriotism which they infused into the women of the Revolution has had an effect even more unfortunate than the violence it has done to the historical record; subsequent writers have adopted their attitude and have diverted their attention from the large numbers of female Loyalists, who have thus become the invisible women of the Revolution. Only in writings on Loyalism do we find an occasional reference to female Tories. But if the attitude of one of the latest Loyalist historians prevails—that "woman's role was usually between the sheets, behind the scenes, or at least

behind the parlor curtains" ²²—we can expect little light to be shed on women's history by Loyalist studies.

What might be called the seamy side of woman's role in the Revolution has also been obscured by the surfeit of patroitism. The one student of camp followers during the Revolution, Walter Hart Blumenthal, was a worshipper at the shrine of female patriotism who refused to consider that the women who attached themselves to the American Army could have been anything but Portias and Cornelias. "There is no trace of dissolute abandon among patriot camp followers," he triumphantly declared "nor was there widespread drunkenness, for . . . the Americans were intoxicated only by the prospect of newfound freedom from a rankling thrall." ²³ On the other hand, British camp followers, most of whom must have been acquired in America, were "swarms of prostitutes," over whose memory Blumenthal was willing to draw the "veil of compassion." ²⁴ This kind of moral absolutism has impeded our understanding of the role of women in the war for American independence.

If the stellar services of women during the Revolution could be used to prove that their daughters and granddaughters deserved the rights for which they were contending in the 19th century, the cause could also be promoted by painting the condition of women at the time of the Revolution in colors which aroused both sympathy and indignation. This the *History of Woman Suffrage* tried to do by conjuring up a crop of villains who forged diabolical instruments for the oppression of women. Foremost among the malefactors was Sir William Blackstone, whose *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, published in the decade before the American Revolution, held sway over American lawyers at the time the *History of Woman Suffrage* was written.

The common law, as explicated by Blackstone, was not a charter for women's liberation. Its rigors were exaggerated, however, in movement slogans like "marriage makes the husband and wife one person, and that person is the husband" ²⁵ and in charges that it enslaved women and consigned them to a "legal death." So great were its alleged enormities that the authors of the *History of Woman Suffrage* raised up the hero-

ines of the Revolution to protest against it. Thus, in using Mrs. Ellet's account of Lydia Darragh, Mrs. Stanton and her colleagues put their own slogan in Lydia's mouth when a British officer demanded if she had been out in the dead of night carrying intelligence to Washington. No, Lydia retorted, "husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband, and my husband was in bed."²⁶ One can forgive many historical improprieties for the sake of such a riposte.

Next to the common law, the stream of "ladies' books," which poured from the 18th-century presses, were declared to be the most pernicious enemies of women. In the eyes of the women's rights movement, Blackstone's confederate in the ladies' book business was Dr. John Gregory, whose *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, published in 1774, ran through almost as many editions as the *Commentaries*. Gregory's book and those of his competitors were resented by women's rights leaders because of their presumption in defining a restricted sphere of activity for females.²⁷ Although the ladies' books were not denounced with quite the passion the women's rights leaders lavished on the common law, which, after all, was still influencing their lives, writers of women's history have given the two relatively equal weight in describing the forces at work during the period of the Revolution.

Two other features of the *History of Woman Suffrage* have been incorporated into contemporary accounts of women during the Revolution. One would hardly have expected Mrs. Stanton to have avoided a snare which has caught legions of professional historians, the pitfall which Herbert Butterfield has described as the Whig interpretation of history. This means, simply, writing about the past in terms of the present. As leaders of a mass organization of women seeking political rights, Mrs. Stanton and her associates focused on similar organizations with similar goals in the past, hunting, as it were, for ancestors. In writing about the American Revolution, their eyes were caught by group activities of women—by the Daughters of Liberty, by Anti-Tea Leagues, and by the Philadelphia women who, in 1780, provided money and clothing to the American Army—and by women who advocated participation in the political process—Abigail Adams, Mercy Otis Warren, Hannah Corbin, and the women of New Jersey who voted

until disfranchised in 1807. The influence of the *History of Woman Suffrage* cannot be better illustrated than by the ubiquity of these groups and individuals in subsequent writings. Their names seem almost to be regarded as incantations which, if not repeated, will subject the author to intolerable anxiety.

The other flaw which the Whig interpretation of history embedded in the *History of Woman Suffrage* was the tendency to regard the history of women in America as beginning with the establishment of the women's rights movement. The feminist authors passed directly from the American Revolution to Fanny Wright, whom they hailed as the harbinger of the women's rights movement,²⁸ without casting a glance on the period between 1780 and 1820, leaving it in a darkness which few subsequent writers have seen fit to penetrate. It might be objected that it is unfair to criticize Mrs. Stanton and her colleagues for failing to accomplish what they never intended. Why, after all, should they have systematically investigated the period between 1780 and 1820, when there is justification for dating the beginnings of the women's movement in the latter decade? Although this argument can be used to extenuate the *History of Woman Suffrage*'s neglect of the post-Revolutionary period, it cannot excuse later historians who, in passing over the period, have imitated Mrs. Stanton and her associates even in their omissions.

One final characteristic of the *History of Woman Suffrage* which subsequent writers have tended to copy is its elitism. This phrase, which has gained currency recently, is a term of reproach for those who write history from letters and documents generated by individuals. The claim is made that, in an age of limited literacy, as colonial America was, only the upper classes wrote and preserved letters. History written from such evidence, it is alleged, reflects the class bias of those well-to-do individuals who produced it; since they were society's elite, such history is "elitist" and also, by extension, politically conservative. Arrayed against the elite are the inarticulate, those of the lower class who do not leave literary memorabilia; being of the lower class, the inarticulate are assumed to be politically radical.

The danger of making political assumptions about the so-called inarticulate is nowhere better



A contemporary British view of the resolution by the women of Edenton, N.C., to boycott tea and British goods. Mezzotint, probably by Philip Dawe, printed for R. Sayer and J. Bennett, London, 1775. Prints and Photographs Division.

illustrated than in women's history. Abigail Adams, Mercy Warren, and other articulate advocates of women's political rights who speak through their letters in the *History of Woman Suffrage* espoused a position which, at the time, was radical; their sisters, who remained inarticulate, were either disinterested or deliberately conservative. The problem sharpened as the women's rights movement grew in strength in the mid-19th century. Then articulation itself became an ideological issue. The question confronting women was whether they should speak in public. Tradition dictated silence; "to be *unknown* is the highest testimonial woman can have to her virtue, delicacy and refinement," was the way the *History of Woman Suffrage* described it.²⁹ Those who chose to remain inarticulate were, therefore, consciously choosing conservatism; the articulate were the radicals. Thus the history of women turns the articulate-inarticulate model on its head.

Perhaps the first writer to pay heed to the inarticulate women of colonial America was Alice Morse Earle in her *Colonial Dames and Good Wives* (1895). Mrs. Earle's work was characteristic of the period in which it was written. It meandered from one topic to another as her fancy—and antiquarian interests—led and did not advance or support a discernible thesis. Yet Mrs. Earle provided valuable information about the circumstances and pursuits of the average colonial woman and explored areas—women in business, for example—which the *History of Woman Suffrage* treated unevenly. Her chapter on business women, entitled "Women of Affairs," seems in fact to have inspired Elisabeth Dexter's excellent monograph on the same subject, *Colonial Women of Affairs* (1924). Carl Halliday's *Women's Life in Colonial Days* (1922), a patronizing work of superficial social history, also took its cue from Mrs. Earle. In treating the Revolution, Mrs. Earle followed Mrs. Stanton and associates in confining herself to describing the organized activities of women, although she enlarged considerably on the information they provided.

The next influential writer on women in the Revolution was Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., whose *New Viewpoints in American History* (1928) included "The Role of Women in American History," the first examination of women's

history in the United States by an established professional historian. Schlesinger was openly sympathetic with the women's rights movement and admired the *History of Woman Suffrage* to the point of imitation. He emphasized group activities, deplored the repressiveness of the common law, and skipped over the period from the end of the Revolutionary War to the advent of Fanny Wright with the statement that "when the days of peace finally returned, they [the women] quietly sank back in their places and took up the old endless routine of their existence."³⁰

Schlesinger did introduce two new elements into the writing of women's history, both of which engaged the attention of historians of his day: the influence of the frontier and of industrialization on women. Although he was circumspect in assessing the impact of these forces, he intimated that they were instrumental in liberating women from their thrall. Subsequent writers have made much bolder claims for them.

Appearing five years later was Mary Beard's ambitious social history of American women, *America Through Women's Eyes* (1933). Mrs. Beard's treatment of women during the Revolutionary era was disappointingly brief and conventional. She used Mrs. Ellet's work and followed the *History of Woman Suffrage* in glorifying female patriotism, but was obviously in a hurry to cover the Revolution and move on to the 19th century, where she made her major contribution to the literature on women in America.

Two contrasting works followed on Mrs. Beard's heels: Mary Sumner Benson's *Women in Eighteenth-Century America* (1935) and Julia Cherry Spruill's *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (1938). Benson's work was a history of women's role as perceived by 18th-century thinkers in Europe and America; Spruill's was a social history, evidently inspired by the Beards and Schlesinger, which exhibited the virtue of prodigious research but shared the vice of Alice Morse Earle's earlier work, that of being written topically without a discernible organizing principle or thesis.

The spate of women's histories in the 1920's and 1930's were spawned by the hurricane of the women's suffrage movement. As that elemental force spent itself in success, interest in women's history dissipated, so that with the exception of a

rare article, such as Elizabeth Cometti's "Women in the American Revolution" (1947)³¹ and an even rarer book, such as Mary Beard's *Woman as Force in History* (1946), American historians in the 1940's and 1950's ignored women's history. During these decades "there was almost no interest in the past history of women or their current situation," wrote Eleanor Flexner in 1959 in her preface to *Century of Struggle*. Since Mrs. Flexner delivered this judgment, the situation has changed dramatically and books on women's history are now cascading from the presses. The reason for the change is obvious: the revival of the women's rights movement in the United States.

The newest round of writings on women's history demonstrates one of the problems of a topic which commands attention only when the popular imagination is aroused. When a topic receives no sustained study, untested and dubious propositions settle on its surface, are picked up and wafted about by each successive gust of interest, then resettle and await the next draft. In such a fashion was the *History of Woman Suffrage* waiting to be appropriated by the current writers of women's history. That they sympathize with the cause of women's rights makes reliance on the *History* all the easier.

Flexner in her *Century of Struggle* employs the *History of Woman Suffrage* without reserve.³² Organized activities of women during the Revolution are stressed—the Daughters of Liberty and the 1780 association of Philadelphia women, for example—as are women who advocated participation in politics: Abigail Adams, Mercy Warren, and (from an earlier century) Margaret Brent. American women are represented as being 100 percent patriots—no Tories among them; the common law and the ladies' books are identified as engines of oppression. Prof. Gerda Lerner, in *The Woman in American History* (1971), writes from the same general perspective, although she does not fall into the snare of stigmatizing the common law or the ladies' books as enemies of women. One of the most recent students of women in the Revolution, Prof. Linda Grant De Pauw, also takes the approach of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. In her article "The Forgotten Spirit of '76: Women in the Revolutionary Era,"³³ not only do the familiar individuals and groups of women

appear, not only are the ladies' books and the common law exposed as oppressive forces, but even Blackstone is restored to the malign prominence he enjoyed in the *History of Woman Suffrage*. Moreover, Professor De Pauw strongly emphasizes the patriotism and rectitude of the women of the Revolution: no Tories appear and she undertakes to defend the camp followers of the American Army against all insinuations of frailty.

The present writers do not neglect Mrs. Ellet. A social history in the tradition of Earle and Spruill, *The Dear-Bought Heritage* (1965) by Eugenie Leonard relies heavily on her. Professor Lerner quotes from her work and echoes of it pervade other recent volumes. Yet, whether acknowledged or unacknowledged, the *History of Woman Suffrage* is clearly the major source of the views of current writers of women's history.

Even though all authors draw from a common source, they do not agree on all problems. There is one major area of disagreement among them; it is not a matter of open dispute, however, and seems, in fact, to have thus far gone unrecognized. The subject in dispute is this: was the condition of women improving or deteriorating at the time of the Revolution and what effect, if any, did the Revolution have on the direction in which it was moving?

The authors of the *History of Woman Suffrage* had no doubt that the Revolution set women on the high road to enhanced human dignity. They regarded the Revolutionary commitment to human equality as an irresistible force which had broken down some of the barriers of restraint and oppression and would, in time, complete the job. Professors Flexner and Lerner subscribe to their view that the power of the Revolution's libertarian ideology has been a key to the emancipation of American women. They also ascribe to the Industrial Revolution, which began in the United States in the years just after the Revolution, an important role in improving the condition of women by freeing them from the confines of the household, giving them financial independence, and abolishing numerous social taboos.

On the other side of the question are Professors De Pauw, Page Smith, author of *Daughters of the Promised Land* (1970), and William



*Lydia Darragh, as portrayed in Godey's Lady's Book,
July 1845.*

O'Neill, author of *The Woman Movement* (1969), all of whom see the condition of women as deteriorating at the time of the American Revolution. Professors De Pauw and Smith lay some of the blame on industrialization, which allegedly destroyed the functional versatility of women in a pioneering, agrarian society.³⁴ In fact, the notion that the Industrial Revolution caused the condition of women to retrogress is not new, having been clearly formulated by Mrs. Dexter in her *Colonial Women of Affairs*. Future researchers will render a service by resolving the confusion about the impact of the Industrial Revolution on women in the United States.

Professor Smith's theories about the deterioration of the condition of women at the time of the Revolution range far beyond speculations about industrialization. His principal thesis is the extraordinary proposition that the period of the American Revolution was, for women, the period of the "Great Repression," because it witnessed the decline of Puritanism which had liberated women sexually. Smith appears to believe that Puritanism and sexual morality were related inversely and that as the power of the former lessened, the latter rose, in the years after the Revolution, to an oppressive and suffocating degree, destroying the well-adjusted, well-appreciated woman of colonial times.³⁵ Most historians, for whom the idea of the Puritans as crypto-playboys will seem singular, will doubtless have trouble accepting Professor Smith's thesis. The factual data, such as it is, flatly refutes it. On the basis of his research on Bristol, R.I., John Demos argues that "when the subject of American sexual behavior is more fully explored, the middle and late 18th century may prove to have been the most 'free' period in our history." In a recent study of Hingham, Mass., Daniel Smith has obtained data which strongly supports Demos' claim.³⁶

Professor De Pauw's case for the deteriorating condition of women rests on different, more conventional, grounds than Professor Smith's. In the first place, she argues in the style of the *History of Woman Suffrage* that Blackstone's *Commentaries*, published on the eve of the American Revolution, imposed the implacable manacles of the common law on women who had previously enjoyed a rather enviable position in America. The notion of Blackstone as the scourge

of American women was discredited, however, by Mary Beard in her *Woman as Force in History*. Arguing that Mrs. Stanton and her colleagues, who had made Blackstone a bogeyman, did not fully understand the implications of his explication of the common law and ignored the remedies available to women in equity jurisdiction, Mrs. Beard declared "that the dogma of woman's complete historic subjection to man," effected principally by the common law, "must be rated as one of the most fantastic myths ever created by the human mind."³⁷ Despite this unequivocal pronouncement, the belief in Blackstone's malevolence, as Robert Riegel has recently observed,³⁸ continues to grip the writers of women's history with a peculiar tenacity.

The second prop for Professor De Pauw's thesis is the influence of the ladies' books which poured into America throughout the 18th century, but whose volume peaked in the years preceding the Revolution. In ascribing to these books a baleful impact on women's condition, Professor De Pauw—as well as others whose studies on women's history are now under preparation—is running the risk of judging them by the standards of the 1960's rather than by those of their own time. Today, the concept of the lady exhibiting demure and deferential behavior is attacked as a device to confine women to a stultifying sex role. But this does not mean that the "ladylike" conduct prescribed by the 18th-century books was intended to serve a similar purpose. Mrs. Benson, who carefully analyzed the ladies' books in her *Women in Eighteenth-Century America*, did not find Gregory, Fordyce, and their competitors misogynists or reactionaries. Abigail Adams, who could identify an enemy when she saw one, wrote this, in 1767, of Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women*: "I cannot say how much I admire them, and should I attempt to say how justly worthy they are of admiration I fear I should not do justice to this most Excellent performance."³⁹ It is possible that the enthusiastic reception of the ladies' books in America signified not a deterioration of women's position but a bettering of it, for the writers of these books were preceptors on the use of leisure time and the interest in improving leisure time was a sign that the expanding American economy was liberating thousands of women from the numbing drudgery of colonial home-

making and conferring on them a standard of living heretofore enjoyed only by the European upper classes. The flowering of the ladies' books was, then, by no means an indication of a deterioration in women's condition.

Professor O'Neill's observations in *The Woman Movement* about the deteriorating position of American women are derived from the French historian Philippe Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood*. Ariès argues that the family itself was in the process of changing in the 18th century and that the freedom which it permitted women in medieval times had yielded by the time of the American Revolution to the oppressive burdens of domesticity which conferred "a great many new duties and responsibilities" on women.⁴⁰ Although O'Neill suggests that this theory might be applied to America, he would be the first to admit that it has not begun to be tested by American data and should be considered, at this point, as entirely speculative.

My own view of the relationship of women and the American Revolution, based on considerable reading in the primary and secondary sources, is that women did harken to the libertarian ideology of the Revolution, that it raised their consciousness (as we would now say) on a broad scale, and that it set them on the path, quietly and unobtrusively to be sure, to appropriating a share of the rights and privileges which the new American nation professed to offer to all humankind. Concurrently, the climate of opinion in 18th-century America, shaped by what can loosely be called Enlightenment ideas, was dissolving the ancient stigma of cosmic guilt which adhered to women, who had reputedly inherited it from Eve, the corrupter of Man. Furthermore, the increasing prosperity of 18th-century American life was freeing masses of women from a life of endless toil. The condition of women in America was improving, then, in the latter part of the 18th century, owing both to the American Revolution and to other forces operating simultaneously with it.

In the last decade of the century, however, progress—at least in what might be called the politicolegal sphere—came to a halt. The reason, I believe, was the French Revolution. As the events of the Revolution became known in America and as it began to betray its ideals in an orgy of ferocity, it became an object of horror to

many Americans; even its sympathizers were shocked at its excesses. This, of course, we know. But what we have not appreciated—because the period from 1780 to 1820 has been ignored by historians of women—is how the actions of women in the French Revolution caused American women to recoil from the uncertain steps they were venturing to take beyond the bounds of their traditionally prescribed sphere.⁴¹ The turbulence, licentiousness, and bloodshed which engulfed the French women who played so active a role in the early phase of the Revolution repelled Americans of both sexes and caused a reactionary tide to set in which washed away all the modest accomplishments and advances of American women. As Lucretia Mott declared in 1849: "Woman shrinks, in the present state of society, from taking any interest in politics. The events of the French Revolution . . . are held up to her as a warning. Let us not look at the excesses of women alone, at that period, but remember that the age was marked with extravagances and wickedness in men as well as women."⁴²

The clergy, as Gary Nash has shown, used the reaction against the French Revolution to re-establish its authority in areas where it had begun to wane.⁴³ Over women the clergy regained its traditional ascendancy, if, in fact, it had ever lost it. A whole host of activities, all under clerical guidance, began to flourish about 1800: charitable societies of various sorts, sewing societies, and missionary societies. In fact, the missionary field, which attracted large numbers of able and active women after 1800,⁴⁴ may have served as a safety valve for female energies, which because of the reaction to the French Revolution could no longer be meaningfully invested in American society. Whatever the case, the bond between women and the clergy seems to have been solidified in the period of reaction to the French Revolution. It was a barrier which the women's rights leaders of the 1840's found more formidable to their cause than any other.

The impact of the French Revolution on American women needs to be documented by more research in the sources; until it has been, it will be only the latest entry in a field of contesting theses about the condition of women in 18th-century America. That there are so many different ideas abroad is characteristic of a "new"



Molly Pitcher at the battle of Monmouth. Lithograph by Currier and Ives. Prints and Photographs Division.

scholarly field. What is unusual about the new field of women's history is the extent to which it is being controlled by a largely propagandistic work written nearly a century ago. The most important step which can be taken at this time in

the writing of women's history is, I submit, an effort by all concerned to emancipate themselves from the *History of Woman Suffrage*, even as its authors tried to emancipate themselves from the mischievous myths of their own day.

NOTES

¹ *The Speech of John Quincy Adams . . . Upon the Right of the People, Men and Women, to Petition* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1838).

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³ Edmund S. Morgan, "Conflict and Consensus in the American Revolution," in *Essays on the American Revolution*, ed. Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., 1973), p. 290.

⁴ If Mrs. Ellet had a didactic purpose, it was to contribute her mite toward healing the growing sectional division in the United States. The Revolution was won, she reminded her readers, by the united exertions of citizens in all parts of the country. "They thought not of sectional distinctions; they felt and acted like brethren." Their descendants must, therefore, cherish "the Union of these States, as they honor the memory of those . . . who died and suffered so much to cement it" (*Domestic History of the American Revolution* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850), pp. 307-8). For a sketch of Mrs. Ellet, see Edward T. James, et al., eds., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1971), 1:569-70.

⁵ Alice Morse Earle, *Colonial Dames and Good Wives* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), for example, used a long quotation from Mrs. Ellet of a Philadelphia woman's letter to a British officer, without attribution, and added a paragraph lifted from Mrs. Ellet, again without attribution, about the patriotic women of Mecklenburg and Rowan counties, N.C., p. 251; cf. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 3 vols. (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1848-50), 1:24, 28-9. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., in his essay "The Role of Women in American History," in *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 131, then picked up the first Ellet quotation from Mrs. Earle.

⁶ Mrs. Ellet tried to apply the proper historical skepticism to the reports she received, lest she be dismissed as a credulous rumormonger. "It is necessary always to distrust, and very often to reject traditional information," she averred. She professed to have refrained from "using it in all cases where it was found

to conflict in any of its details with established historical facts" (*Women of the American Revolution*, 1:15-16).

⁷ Ellet, *Domestic History of the American Revolution*, p. 31, and *Women of the American Revolution*, 1:312-13.

⁸ Ellet, *Domestic History of the American Revolution*, pp. 56-57, 283-84.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 229, 233.

¹⁰ Ellet, *Women of the American Revolution*, 1:171-77; Mrs. Ellet noted that her account of Lydia Darragh was based on an article in the *American Quarterly Review* (1827). She indicated, however, that many stories confirming the contentions of the article were current in Philadelphia.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2:122-35.

¹² John E. Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1959); Corey Ford, *A Peculiar Service* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965).

¹³ Bakeless, *Turncoats*, pp. 252-65, 361.

¹⁴ Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints*, p. 159.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 3 vols. (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881), 1:51.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.

²² Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965), pp. 29-30.

²³ Walter Hart Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: G. S. MacManus, 1952), p. 63.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 54.

²⁵ Stanton, et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 1:352.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 321-22.

²⁷ See, for example, Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1923), pp. 7-8.

²⁸ Stanton, et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 1:35, 692.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁰ Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints*, p. 132.

²¹ *New England Quarterly* 20 (September 1947): 329-46.

²² Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1959), pp. 8, 12-14.

²³ Ms. 3 (July 1974): 51-56.

²⁴ Smith mentions the "spirit of capitalism," urbanization, and social stratification—all of which, I take it, are handmaidens of industrialization—as undermining women's condition (*Daughters of the Promised Land* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), pp. 57, 64).

²⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 37-76, for the full argument.

²⁶ John Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, 25 (January 1968): 57. Daniel Smith's study is cited in James A. Henretta, *The Evolution of American Society, 1700-1815* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1973), p. 132.

²⁷ Mary Beard, *Woman as Force in History* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), p. 144.

²⁸ Robert E. Riegel, *American Women* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970), p. 16.

²⁹ Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., *Adams Family Correspondence*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1963), p. 61.

³⁰ William L. O'Neill, *The Woman Movement; Feminism in the United States and England* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), p. 17.

³¹ For a recent account of women in the French Revolution, see Jane Abray, "Feminism in the French Revolution," *American Historical Review* 80 (February 1975): 43-62.

³² Quoted in Stanton, et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 1:371.

³³ Gary Nash, "The American Clergy and the French Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, 22 (July 1965): 392-412.

³⁴ Smith, *Daughters of the Promised Land*, pp. 181-85.

WOMAN

as Breadwinner

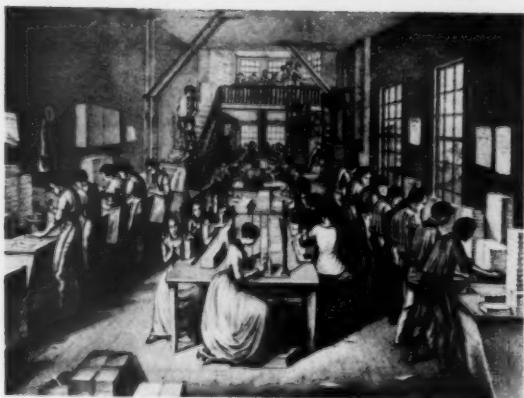
by Milton Kaplan



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20

Baker. Prang's Aids for Object Teaching; Trades & Occupations, plate 10. Lithograph by L. Prang & Co. 1875. LC-USZ62-4218.

21

Milliner. Woodcut in Edward Hazen's *Panorama of Professions & Trades*. 1836. LC-USZ62-32031.

22

Jas. B. Smith & Co. Booksellers and Blank Book Manufacturers. Lithograph by August Kölner. Printed by H. Camp. 1850. LC-USZ62-02619.

23

Glimpses at the Freedmen—The Freedmen's Union Industrial School, Richmond, Va. "From a Sketch by Our Special Artist, Jas. E. Taylor." Wood engraving, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 22, 1866. LC-USZ62-33264.

24

W.S. & C.H. Thomson's Skirt Manufactory. Wood engraving in *Harper's Weekly*, February 19, 1859. LC-USZ62-2035.

25

Match-Makers. Wood engraving in *Harper's Weekly*, June 17, 1871. LC-USZ62-5375.



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Afro-American Women

The Outstanding and the Obscure

by Sylvia Lyons Render

A paper on Afro-American women in historical perspective seems especially appropriate at this time not only because 1975 is International Women's Year but also because colored—Negro, Afro-American, black—women (they have worn all these appellations with equal grace during various periods since some of their ancestors came over from African shores) are not being given sufficient attention by historiographers, although Afro-American history and culture have at last been recognized as suitable subject matter for scholarly research.

I predict that further investigation in this particular area will indeed be enlightening. I venture to say now that the conditions of legalized slavery which the majority—but not all—of our black ancestors suffered and the status of second-class citizenship that every person identified as Afro-American has endured have forced our women to cultivate certain combinations of qualities to give their families and themselves better chances to survive under the adverse conditions of life they could not avoid. Some of these qualities, coincidentally also identified as typically American, are resourcefulness, independence, generosity, strength, innovativeness, thrift, and ambition. Beyond that, Afro-American women have repeatedly manifested their love, their per-

severance, their vision, their faith, their loyalty, their perceptivity, and an uncanny ability to compromise without being compromised. Langston Hughes has beautifully captured much of the black woman's basic nature in his poem "Mother to Son." Though it obviously treats an Afro-American family relationship, it bespeaks the human condition which all of us share. The lives of the three particular women discussed here reflect, too, elements both individual and universal. All three were residents of the District of Columbia at some time during their lives, had some impact upon area residents, and are of sufficient importance in American history to have materials by or about them, or both, among the holdings of the Manuscript Division.

The first of these ladies would, no doubt, at first glance be categorized as obscure. How many people know anything more about Anna Murray Douglass than that she was the great Frederick Douglass' first wife? How many have ever stopped to reflect upon how important her role was in creating the conditions favorable for Douglass' development into a great personality and a powerful force in American life? Unfor-

A restored photograph of Anna Murray Douglass shows her in the vigor of her more comfortable middle years and suggests the forcefulness of her personality.

Sylvia Lyons Render is specialist in Afro-American history and culture in the Manuscript Division. In a program sponsored by the Library of Congress Federal Women's Committee in observance of Afro-American (Black) History Month on February 27, 1975, she presented a speech in the Coolidge Auditorium upon which this article is based.

tunately, because Anna Douglass had no opportunity to learn to read or write during her youth, when such skills are usually acquired, proof of her contribution will have to be derived from the observations and testimony of others, especially her husband and their elder daughter, Rosetta Douglass Sprague, as found in the Douglass papers in the Manuscript Division.

We are told that Anna Murray (1811?-1882), a few years older than the man she married, was among the exclusive group of free Negroes who were members of the East Baltimore Improvement Society during the 1830's. Although slaves were not usually admitted to such groups, they welcomed the freedom-seeking Frederick Bailey into their circle about 1838. A romance quickly developed between him and Anna, who, for the rest of her life, extended herself fully to help her mate's dreams become realities. She made the sailor suit which Douglass wore during his daring escape; she provided funds from her savings as a valued household worker in Baltimore to help him get safely to New York. A week later she confidently joined in matrimony this man, an escaped slave with a price on his head, and then she went on to face with him the double uncertainty of life in the North. I might add that she carried with her enough of her own household furnishings to make their first humble two-room dwelling, in New Bedford, Mass., both comfortable and attractive.¹

Mrs. Anna Murray Douglass successfully combined the careers of wife, wage earner, and mother of five. She had no desire for a career per se and after the 1850's performed only chores for her family. Initially, however, she worked as a menial alongside her husband to eke out their meager funds. Later she washed and ironed and bound shoes, while simultaneously toiling "early and late by the sunlight of day and the burning of the midnight oil at her duties of the household" to give her husband the chance to develop the great potential she had perceived in him and to improve the quality of life for their family.² Mrs. Douglass took great pride in the immaculate appearance of her husband and of their home. She saw to it that both his personal linen and their table linens, no matter how coarse, were always snowy white. Even after they moved from New Bedford to Rochester, N.Y., by way of Lynn, Mass., purchased a two-story nine-room

brick dwelling, and hired a laundress, the meticulous Anna continued to smooth the tucks in her husband's shirts as well as to forward him a fresh supply of shirts when he went out on extended tours. Incidentally, one room in that dwelling was reserved for travelers on the Underground Railroad, who were sure to receive generous samples of Mrs. Douglass' good cooking.

Beyond that, the wife relieved her husband of worrying about the well-being of the family during his frequent absences. For example, while Douglass was speaking in England between 1845 and 1847 Anna saved every penny he sent home to take care of the family, depending instead on her earnings. At that time the couple had four children, of whom the eldest was only six. Moreover, with the help of the antislavery workers in the Boston area, with whom Mrs. Douglass maintained very friendly relations, she actively supported, and contributed a portion of her wages to, the abolitionist cause. Thus, when Douglass had to leave the country in 1859 to escape arrest on the charge of being an accomplice in John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, he knew that his wife would carry on very well.

Despite her lack of literacy, Mrs. Douglass kept abreast of what was going on, made good assessments of issues, and took great pride in her husband's accomplishments. One of these was the publishing of the *North Star*, later known as *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. She facilitated these achievements by continuing to relieve him of household chores or worries, which, in part, kept her from accompanying Douglass on as many of his short trips as he would have liked for her to do. However, she felt it necessary for her to stay home, as she put it, "to keep things straight."³

Keep things straight she did. For instance, being a better judge of human nature than her husband, Mrs. Douglass strove—sometimes without success—to keep at arm's length many individuals who, for selfish reasons, would have intruded upon the family privacy and eventually caused some discomfort, to say the least. When on occasion husband and wife would disagree on certain aspects of the home life, Mrs. Douglass usually carried the day and was often vindicated by later circumstances. When she put her foot down, she did so emphatically.

Rochester, June 28, 1859.

dearly. I saw Douglass Coffey last Thursday he is quite gentle and is suffering from a bad cold which he writes on his hand the result of his exposure in the snow-storm. He forced me to beg off. But such a young man was visited at Rochester on Sunday evening I thought he would be nearly half dead in their jail. Lewis and I heard the "Cassell's Monthly" anti-slavery and Cultural press-there can be no comparison between but least of living with hot bands 354 pounds of meat on Doug., besides putting a barrel of 354 pounds on his shoulder he is a strong man certainly very young and weight himself. At the lecture I was most struck.

Some attimes about regularly she is the favorite of her German teacher he says she is the best child he has. Mrs. Douglass has written to me she is pleased with the paper who divide the account Mr. Douglass the censorship could not be imposed. I am only that I have seen who take up people now placed with the committee & think it is calculated one year absent Annie will find a place of the newspapering paper also writes daily to Douglass wishing both well. Continue to write to you with her address in Pennsylvania.

The ground is white and snow covered so much easier to come in good earnest.

Annie Smith is improving free and will come to go to the North. She has not already gone.

Very Affectionately yours Rosetta Douglass

—by *Rosetta Douglass*

I am proceeding in my go-
man very well for my master says so. I mean
be first reader and I can read. I expect that
you will have a German letter from me in a
very short time. I have learned another poem.
and it is called Slavery. I am going to repeat it in
school, my piece is this.

She is not the woman for me
Who buys or sells a slave
She sells and bought him for
But freed him to his grave
But he whose noble heart beats warm
For all men life and liberty
Who loves all the human form
That the man for me

It is in the Garland of Freedom and for four or
as of it. My father will not be long. Poor old Brown
is that. That hard hearted man will be most dead and
lay low him in any open field and shoot a
bullet from the rifle and have him. The poor
dollar like me are such but I have gone a head of them
and they had been those longer than we are.

Such discernment as his wife had came belatedly to Douglass, who in a moving letter of condolence dated June 2, 1875, to their daughter Rosetta about the loss of "our dear little Alice," explained why he would not be coming to the funeral. Mrs. Douglass, of course, was already in Rochester with the stricken family. Referring to the burning of their home in Rochester—implicitly as the result of arson—and the possibility that it might occur again, he was reluctant to leave the Washington residence "alone or entirely in the hands of strangers. . . . We are not among friends here any more than in Rochester. It is our misfortune to create envy wherever we go. The white people don't like us and the colored people envy us." *

Mrs. Douglass was equally concerned about the sensibilities and intellectual development of their children. Therefore, when Rosetta, the eldest child, was forced to sit in the cloakroom away from her white classmates when she entered the Rochester, N.Y., public school system, her mother readily agreed that she should stay with friends elsewhere to go to a school where

One side of a joint letter sent by Rosetta and Annie Douglass to their father shortly after he fled to England by way of Canada to avoid prosecution as an accomplice of John Brown. The younger daughter's precociousness and convictions are readily apparent.

she would be treated the same as the other students until a tutor could be provided the following year. Subsequently, Rosetta was sent to Oberlin College Academy, where she took prescribed business courses in anticipation of assisting her father.

Like most Afro-American parents who have been denied formal training, Mrs. Douglass saw to it that her children's education began early and was thorough. The youngest child, Annie, was taking German and "the best scholar" of her German teacher at the same time she was "in the first reader," in 1859, at age 10.⁵ It is worth noting that as the family became more affluent Mrs. Douglass insisted that the children have some responsibility. Lewis and Frederick, when they were only 11 and 9, learned to set type and do other chores around the *North Star* office, thus

keeping them off the streets and out of trouble during summer vacations.

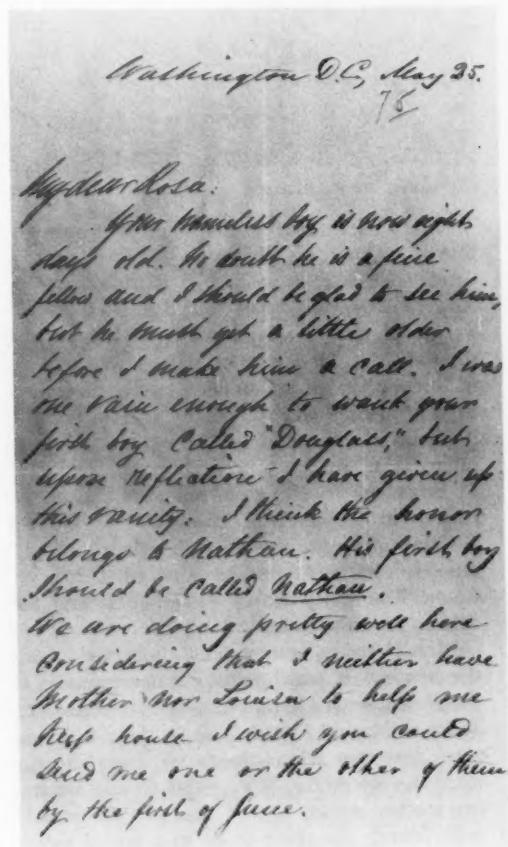
There was very little trouble at home, for Mrs. Douglass' extraordinary inner strength made her a firmer disciplinarian than the great orator but raised no barrier between her and the children. On the contrary, in later years they invariably sought her counsel and often her presence during crises. She always responded promptly, sometimes leaving "Mr. Douglass," as she uniformly addressed her husband, to take care of himself and the Washington home whether or not any help was immediately available. It is easy to understand now why, in many letters to Rosetta, who served as her mother's amanuensis, Douglass repeatedly referred to his wife affectionately as "Mother." Her family came first with her and she seemed always able to meet their needs. Having only the talents with which she was endowed by nature, she served them admirably under conditions which would have utterly destroyed a weaker person. One support was a strong Christian faith which she chose more to live than to talk about. Another was an acceptable image of herself which enabled her to be forthright in her dealings with others and to command or demand respect, as the case might be, in return. Most of all, she loved unstintingly and her expression of that love helped one man to achieve greatness.

Thus, though Anna Murray Douglass may be obscure in the sense that she is still little known, she must be rated outstanding for the way in which she coped with life.

The woman probably much better known than Mrs. Douglass, and hence more appropriately to be called outstanding, is Mary Church Terrell. She is called the great regulator and mother of the sit-in, a technique employed by Afro-Americans to fight race discrimination long before the 1960's. Mary Church Terrell was born and grew up under very different circumstances from those associated with Anna Murray Douglass. For one thing, she was of a later generation, her dates being 1863-1954. Like Mrs. Douglass, however, she had strong family ties and an active desire to help blacks better their quality of life. Unlike Mrs. Douglass, she had a career and became a well-known public figure. One chief difference between the two is that Mrs. Terrell left personal papers which express her views on conditions

and issues important to her. Another difference is that Mary Church was born with that figurative silver spoon in her mouth, in Memphis, Tenn. Her father, Robert R. Church, Sr., born in legal bondage but never treated as a slave, was affluent enough to avoid local segregated classrooms by sending his little girl to Yellow Springs, Ohio, to elementary school, to Oberlin College Academy, and to the college itself, from which she received the B.A. degree in classical languages

The letter Frederick Douglass wrote to his daughter while her mother was with her when Rosetta's son was born in Rochester reflects Mrs. Douglass' competence in running her household as well as the supportive role she played in the lives of her children's families.



in 1884. Having embraced the northern work ethic and being eager to help her people, Mary Church defied her father's threat to disinherit her and went to work. She taught at Wilberforce University a variety of subjects ranging from science to classical languages.

In 1888, torn between going to Europe and accepting a position at M Street (later Dunbar) High School in Washington, Miss Church chose the latter. She served as the assistant to the Latin teacher, Robert H. Terrell, a Harvard University alumnus. During her tenure at M Street, however, she spent two years abroad studying languages and touring Europe with each of her divorced parents and her brother. Her father had long since forgiven Mary and had gained political

power, as he became more prosperous.⁶ She also decided to be a lifelong assistant to Robert Terrell, who earned two law degrees at Howard University and in 1902 was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt to the first federal judgeship held by an Afro-American. That same year the President was a guest of honor at a reception given by "the Colored Citizens of Memphis" in Robert Church's Park and Auditorium and attended by more than 10,000 people.⁷

Although Mrs. Terrell's diaries, kept sporadically between 1905 and 1952, are discreetly silent about her relationship with her husband, letters in which she addresses him as "My Own Darling," "My darling Husband," and with similar endearments and signs herself as his "homesick,"

Our house is now perfectly
clean from top to bottom.
A glorious rain came this
morning giving a smelling
face to my lawn, lettuce &
Cantelope vines.
Lewis has come home
from a weeks tour of his
postal agency he is doing
much hard travelling but
looks well. He is young strong
and shone like his work.
I did at his age. But I
now begin to like the Chevy
Corner and hate to travel
there I want to see and
those who want to see me
must do the needful travelling
I have had enough of it.
This will reach you about
Thursday and I hope

by that time you will be
able to scribble me
a few lines with your
own dear fable hand.
You must tell me all
about your grand boy. If
I shall like him as well as
I like your girls he will
be very well liked.
Love from all here to
all in Rochester and
especially to yourself.

Your father
Fred Douglass

"affectionate," and "loving wife" reflect a warm, compatible union.⁸

Because of their common interests and similar outlooks on life, they enjoyed many social, political, and cultural functions together. When Mrs. Terrell was away she would often send her husband detailed accounts of her activities. Though she apparently enjoyed taking trips—whether on business or vacation—she missed her family and always expressed eagerness to return home. In a letter to her husband from Newport (where she

and their daughter, Phyllis, were on the beach) on July 13, 1902, she wrote coyly with overtones of 20th-century women's liberation sentiments, "I have always felt that man and wife should be separated a short while each year for their own good, but a little separation from you goes a long way with me, I assure you."⁹

On the other hand, the diaries are replete with entries about the couple's only child, named after the poet Phillis Wheatley, which confirm the mother's active concern about her daughter's

Oct 5. Lausanne 1888.
Hier j'étais très malade que je
étais obligé de me coucher dans le
meilleur lit de la maison. Sarah me
a fait une couchette. Sarah me
dit que je devais être malade
et le docteur et le dentiste m'ont donné
de la tisane de la médecine. Je ne puis
plus dormir jusqu'à ce que je n'aurai
plus mal au cœur. Ma tête
me fait beaucoup de mal il cause de l'in-
confort. Le docteur m'a forcée d'avoir
la bouche avec un instrument pendant
que j'ai dormi pour avoir pris le pox.
Il a brisé les muscles de ma mâchoire
que me a fait beaucoup de mal.
J'ai pleuré et j'avais peur. C'est très
maladie et faire de ma maison.
Je me suis souvenue d'une personne dont
la morte de sa figure était paralytique.
J'ai craint beaucoup d'être atteinte de
la même maladie. J'espére que non.
Je ne sais pas combien les illustrations
du médecin et du dentiste me conviennent.
Faire tout le remède. Le dentiste
me a demandé de faire faire une

dent maladie n'aurait pas été
bon que c'est nécessaire de me faire
ce genre. Il a dit que je suis très
fatiguée. Pas pour à présent de la
fièvre. Mais, je suis très fatiguée
que je ne l'aurais cru. J'en crains de
m'envier dans un pays étranger.
Dame m'a envoyé cette maladie afin
de pouvoir donner un peu de repos, j'en
suis sûre. C'est était une grande
affection de perdre tant de temps
de ma bourse de pension. Ma tête
avait besoin de tranquillité après avoir
été en peine tant. Le maître était
aussi grande que nous ayons été, je ferai
beaucoup que j'aimerais faire.
C'est dommage que il y a tant de marcher
dans les jardins ici, car on a toujours
les pieds froids. J'espère que je ne
serais plus malade ici. J'ai bravement
rencontré May, et ses deux filles. Je
suis bien heureuse elles me disent que
je leur l'ai fait. La plus jeune des
deux filles Sarah m'a aimé beaucoup.
Elle restait toujours à côté de mon lit.
Elle que je voulais jamais me quitter. M.
Goddard est ce qui elle pouvait. M. Goddard
qui a envoyé les robes qui furent très
bonne. Il est parti pour se reposer.
Je suis bien froide però-

During the years of her study abroad, Mary Church Terrell kept diaries in the language of the country she was visiting at the time. This entry in French describes a bout in which toothache and prolonged study forced her to bed. Both a doctor and a dentist attended to her needs, and she wrote, also, of her appreciation for the attentiveness of the female members of the family with whom she was living.

physical well-being, intellectual development, and social activities. Mrs. Terrell was up with Phyllis all night November 15, 1905, trying to relieve the "poor little sufferer" of what the doctor diagnosed as "malarial fever." She noted that the child had been "taken ill one year ago about this time with scarlet fever." The following entry, for November 17, 1905, shows how adeptly Mrs. Terrell combined her roles: "Took care of Phyllis today—Miss Peters came and I dictated letters to her while I rocked Phyllis."

Among the many books which Phyllis owned from early childhood was the two-volume *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*. Susan Anthony sent the volumes to the child by her mother in December 1904 when Mrs. Terrell visited the author in Rochester, N.Y. Mary Terrell took Phyllis on vacations as near as Highland Beach and as far away as Europe and on afternoon-long visits to the toy departments of downtown stores when she was still a youngster. The child shared with her mother, and "almost all" their friends, the excitement of viewing the March 4, 1905, inaugural parade from the vantage point of "Mr. Douglass' Lunchroom" on Pennsylvania Avenue. During the early years Mrs. Terrell shopped and sewed for them both. She was also on hand when Phyllis sang and played in the Howard University Chapel in April 1927, the year of her graduation, noting that "she did very well but stood sideways."¹⁰ Phyllis' marriages reduced their activities together but did not break the bond between them. In 1951 Mrs. Terrell recorded that Phyllis, Mary (the Terrell's adopted daughter), and she "went to the residence of the late Mrs. Plummer to pay our respects." She also mentioned having a delicious ham and sweet potato dinner with her daughter, thus unconsciously revealing the reversal of roles which the years inevitably bring to a parent-child relationship.¹¹

On the other hand, Mrs. Terrell remained constant and remarkably effective in her outspoken advocacy of human rights both as an individual and as a member of various organizations throughout her adult life. Having unshakable convictions, the fortitude to express them regardless of their reception, and the perseverance to pursue them in the face of failure were decided assets during the early 1900's, when Negroes were being systematically stripped of their rights as citizens and their dignity as people. The resultant



Mary Church Terrell, photographed in Washington, D.C.

imperiousness, however, gained for her a reputation for being "hard to get along with," a characteristic that is not apparent in her accounts of the Terrell's family life.

Mrs. Terrell's activities necessitated frequent absences from home. After marriage terminated her teaching career, she turned her attention to the civic and social betterment of her people and to women's suffrage, particularly injustices suffered by black women. It should be noted that as a voluntary Negro Mary Church Terrell could have faded into whiteness—"passed"—and lived just as well. She had the means—all kinds, including color—but she thought black, she identified as black, and she fought black. Her accomplishments range from being the first president of the Colored Women's League of Washington to leading the picketing in front of major business firms in downtown Washington, D.C. The league eventually expanded into the Na-

— COMING! —

ON



Mrs. Mary Church Terrell

First President of the National Association of Colored Women.
Member of the Board of Education of the District
of Columbia for Eleven Years.

IN A LECTURE, ENTITLED:

AT



Admission	:	Cents
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A flier prepared to announce many speaking engagements.

tional Association of Colored Women, of which she was also the first president. She encouraged local affiliates to establish kindergartens, daycare centers, and nursing schools and to work with delinquent youngsters and sharecroppers. She joined Frederick Douglass in pushing for anti-lynching measures and after his demise continued to pursue another common cause, women's suffrage. Her appointment to the District of Columbia Board of Education in 1895 was a first for an Afro-American woman.

In 1907 she published a scathing article, "What It Means to Be Colored in the Capital of the United States," in *The Independent*, pointing out the demoralizing effects upon black citizens of widespread segregation in Washington. The essay was later incorporated as a chapter in her autobiography, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, published in 1940.¹² Mrs. Terrell was a prime mover in the nationwide attempts to secure fair trials for the black soldiers accused of starting the Brownsville Riot of 1906. She was a charter member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, having helped to organize it in 1909. In 1911 she directed the 100th anniversary celebration of Harriet Beecher Stowe's birth in Washington. She represented Negro women abroad at the International Congress of Women in Berlin, Germany, in 1904, at the International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1919, and at the World Fellowships of Faith in London, England, in 1937. In Berlin she was the only American delegate who addressed the assemblage in a language other than her own. Using fluent German, she declared to the attentive audience, "If it had not been for the war of rebellion which resulted in victory for the Union Army in 1865, instead of addressing you as a free woman tonight, in all human probability, I should be on some plantation in one of the southern states of my country manacled body and soul in the fetters of a slave. . . . As you fasten your eyes on me, therefore, you are beholding a rare bird." This became very humorous when translated into German because the phrase for a rare bird is ein weisser Rane, which means literally a white robin.¹³

Mrs. Terrell demanded equal facilities for black soldiers during World War I. After the armistice she gave much service to the National Urban League and the War Camp Community Service in addition to continuing to speak at colleges, conventions, and to local groups throughout the country.¹⁴ During this period Mrs. Terrell also affiliated herself with the newly organized Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, was named a member of the Republican National Committee in 1920, and rejoiced when the 19th Amendment was finally ratified that year.¹⁵ In 1933 she was among the "one hundred most outstanding alumni" of

Oberlin College named at the centennial celebration of that institution and in later years received honorary degrees from her alma mater, Howard University, and Wilberforce University. In 1949 she headed a group that eventually won the release of Rosa Lee Ingram and her sons, all of whom had been sentenced to death by a Georgia court for the killing of a white man who had assaulted Mrs. Ingram.

She was a pioneer in attacking segregation in Washington, with equal zeal for black unskilled laborers and black university women. Her greatest triumph came toward the end of her life when she spearheaded one of many drives to desegregate public accommodations in the nation's capital. Using strategies as variant as politicking, sit-ins, and "buying out the house," she helped to pave the way for the widespread integration of the 1960's. Dressed up, wearing the hat and gloves which completed a lady's attire in years past, she lent a certain dignity to the picketing of local business establishments for equal treatment of Negroes. On occasion she would also buy all the tickets for a performance at the one legitimate downtown theater and distribute them among Afro-Americans whose ethnic identity was unmistakable. Five minutes before curtain time the ticketholders would show up, certain to be refused. The management therefore had either to dismiss the cast for that performance or let them play to empty seats.

Mrs. Terrell's great service to humanity was recognized on her 90th birthday, October 10, 1953, at a dinner at the Statler Hotel in Washington. Hundreds of white and black people in attendance stood up and made her a promise that race discrimination in the nation's capital would be ended by her 100th birthday. They apparently became infused with the spirit expressed in these words from one of her most famous speeches: "Keep on going, keep on insisting, keep on fighting injustice."

Ruth Anna Fisher (1886-1975) is both the most contemporary and most obscure of the three women whose lives are reviewed here. She was the last surviving member of her immediate family and apparently had no close ties with other relatives. It is unlikely that any substantial number of her private papers will ever be available: most of those she had accumulated until the early

1940's were burned when her London apartment was bombed during the World War II blitzkrieg and those among her effects at the time of her death were destroyed shortly thereafter. Again, because most of her career was devoted to highly specialized research in foreign archival materials, her significant contribution to the world of scholarship is hardly known by other than her colleagues and the relatively small number of researchers she served directly. Fortunately a number of her local friends and acquaintances have been gracious enough to share with me their memories of Miss Fisher. Too, since she was connected with the Library of Congress from 1927 until her retirement in 1956, some pertinent information about her career is available through official library records and holdings.

I doubt that Mr. and Mrs. David Crockett Fisher, though members of the most prominent colored family in Lorain, Ohio, entertained the faintest notion that the baby girl born to them on March 15, 1886, would become the first American woman to be engaged in the copying of foreign documents for the Library of Congress and to claim to be "the first woman ever to be given a key to the British Museum."¹⁶ Though Miss Fisher seldom talked about her



Ruth Anna Fisher, from the Oberlin College Yearbook, Hi-O-Hi, for 1907.

Mr. Booker T. Washington,

Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly let
me know at what time I may
have an interview with you
this afternoon as I am leaving
at four.

Very truly yours,
Ruth A. Fisher.

Nov. 15, 1906.

A curt response which Ruth Anna Fisher made to Booker T. Washington's written request for her resignation from the Academic Department of Tuskegee Institute marked the end of a very short teaching career.

childhood, it is known that she was so devoted to her father that little affection seemed left for her mother and brother. Mr. Fisher, who had attended Oberlin College Academy from 1871 to 1877, was a realtor, the operator of an icehouse (which he supplied by cutting blocks of ice out of the frozen Ohio River during winter months), and, for a time, the town clerk. Young Ruth Anna used to accompany him to political meetings and probably began then to develop a social awareness which she manifested throughout her adult life. After attending the Lorain public schools, she too went to Oberlin. There she gained the reputation of being a "terribly smart" student, earning the B.A. degree at age 19 with majors in Latin and English. By this time Miss Fisher had developed a philosophy of education more in sympathy with that of W. E. B. DuBois

than that of Booker T. Washington and the courage to sacrifice position for principle. She began teaching in the academic department of Tuskegee Institute in September 1906; on November 14 she received a letter from Principal Washington requesting her resignation because of her flat refusal either to cooperate in "correlating the academic and industrial work [or] to have any part in Sunday School work." Miss Fisher left Tuskegee the next afternoon at 4 o'clock; whether she had the exit interview requested in her curt one-sentence reply to the letter is not of record.¹⁷

It is easy to understand why Miss Fisher, who had never suffered the psychological blight of race prejudice during her childhood, who was apparently a pretty girl, and who had assuredly proved her intellectual competence at Oberlin, did not find a satisfying milieu until she went to London, England, in 1920 to study. It was a period during which Afro-Americans were losing status in the United States and race prejudice was rampant both north and south. No doubt the young woman suffered indignities during the intervening years when she had tutored and taught in the public school systems of Lorain and Indianapolis, Ind., headed English work at the Manassas Industrial School, Manassas, Va., studied at the Canadian Academy of Music in Toronto, and been in charge of the recreational center of a YWCA in New York City. While there, according to Mrs. Bernard Stol, Miss Fisher was asked by a white couple to let them underwrite a year of study for her abroad. She accepted, enrolling in courses in political science at the London School of Economics. In a rare autobiographical revelation, Miss Fisher states that before she left America, a friend who had anticipated that she would prefer to remain abroad after her funded year of study was over advised her to get in touch with J. Franklin Jameson at the Carnegie Institution of Washington for "some work which would enable me to stay in London until I was able to make other plans."¹⁸ As Dr. Jameson was at the time in London having copies made of documents relating to American history in the Public Record Office, he interviewed Miss Fisher. Jameson, once again living up to his reputation for helpfulness and encouragement, gave the young woman the opportunity to demonstrate that she

could meet his high standards for the judgment, attention to detail, industry, and public relations necessary for success in locating, identifying, selecting, and copying manuscripts in public and private British archives which subsequently became Miss Fisher's life work. At last she had found her element and a mentor par excellence. Their mutually satisfying working relationship developed into a stable teacher-student friendship which lasted until Dr. Jameson's death in 1937.

At first Miss Fisher engaged in research and related activities for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, of which Dr. Jameson was director, and for individuals referred to her largely by Jameson.¹⁹ In 1927, before Dr. Jameson became chief of the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, she was employed by the Library as the first American woman, under a Rockefeller grant, "Project A," to supervise the copying of materials related to American history in the British Museum, the British Public Record Office, the libraries of the House of Lords and the House of Commons as well as various private archives.²⁰ She worked chiefly with 17th- and 18th-century manuscripts involving the records of the British Foreign, Colonial, War, and Navy Offices, and the private political papers of such notable figures as William Gladstone and Edmund Burke. After mass photographic reproduction replaced the tedious copying by hand, the volume of items sent to the Library of Congress averaged 100,000 annually. Miss Fisher became so proficient as a manuscript investigator that in 1936 Dr. Jameson declared her "well versed in American history," possessed of "quite unusual abilities," and "a very clever American woman, who knows the American materials in the Public Record Office better than anyone else does or ever has, except Charles [McLean] Andrews."²¹

The American-born woman also found life as a whole in Britain so fulfilling that she returned to the States in 1940 only after her flat was demolished during a bombing attack. At the Library she helped to organize the manuscripts that she had been instrumental in procuring. Two calendars which she had prepared exclusively before she resumed her duties in England in 1949 are "Lord Macartney's Letter Books, West Indies, Grenada, February 1777-June 1779" (1947) and the "Journal of the Council for For-

ign Plantations, August 3, 1670-September 20, 1672, and Journal of the Council for Trade and Plantations, October 13, 1672-December 22, 1674."²²

The expanded scope of Miss Fisher's responsibilities and official reliance on her judgment upon her return to London is reflected in the following paragraphs from the memorandum dated May 26, 1949, from Leslie W. Dunlap, assistant chief, Manuscript Division, to Burton W. Adkinson, acting director, Reference Department:

Miss Fisher's first task in London will be to locate some 13,000 photostat prints which were stored in the Public Record Office in 1941 and to arrange for their shipment to the Library. This probably will be more difficult than it seems, because the exact location of the prints is not known, the number of bundles which should be in storage is not recorded here, and some of the operator's reports were lost in transit.

While the stored prints are being prepared for shipment, Miss Fisher doubtless will undertake to find what additional reproductions the Library should attempt to obtain from the Public Record Office. Materials there are opened to the public at established intervals, and we have no guides to the records which have been made available in recent years. After Miss Fisher shall have determined what new material can and should be reproduced, she will forward the information with her recommendations to the Chief of this Division for approval. Also at the Public Record Office Miss Fisher will inquire about the status of the order for microfilm which the Library placed several years ago. Almost 3,000 volumes were designated for microfilming, but only about 100 have been copied.

After her work in the Public Record Office is under way, Miss Fisher probably will go to the British Museum to learn what materials it has acquired in recent years which should be photocopied under the Wilbur Fund, and then she will try to determine what manuscripts in smaller depositories and in private hands should be copied. The Library has been asked to obtain copies of records in the office of the India Company and in the headquarters of missionary societies, and in such cases Miss Fisher will ascertain whether the material is in condition to be copied, whether the Library will be permitted to do so, and what arrangements must be made to have the work done. Since smaller depositories, firms, and persons which have records that we want copied probably are not equipped to make photographic reproductions, Miss Fisher will have to have the work done in an institution which does such work or by a commercial photographer.*

Besides an interest in history, which consumed her working hours, Ruth Anna Fisher had a passion for music, literature and languages (especially Latin), politics, sparkling conversation, cats, and gourmet cooking. An accomplished pianist, she would sometimes play the baby grand

in her Washington apartment for good friends. Only intimates knew that in anticipation of becoming a concert singer she had studied under Theresa Behr (Mrs. Artur Schnabel) and others, only to have a goiter operation subsequently destroy any such possibility. Characteristically, Miss Fisher did not commiserate over such misfortunes; instead she buried them beneath a smiling calm and compensated with other satisfying pursuits. Thus, denied singing, she would read poetry "in a beautiful voice" to friends and took great delight in responsive readings of passages in Latin with a fellow enthusiast. During her retirement years she took refresher courses in Latin at George Washington University.

Her proficiency in both music and language made her especially appreciative of beauty and precision in writing. Back home, besides continuing to add to her library, she kept her subscription to the *Listener* and the (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, of whose contributors V. S. Pritchett was her favorite. On one occasion she could not resist sharing with her friend William Fox, professor of history at Montgomery College, Takoma, Md., the typically British understatement in a *Times Literary Supplement* review that a certain writer was "short of an effective prose."

Her wide range of interests, her wit, charm, scholarship, elegance, and graciousness drew a Bloomsbury-type circle around her in London. Among them were Harold Laski, the Schnabels, H. G. Wells, Samuel F. Bemis, W. E. B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, and possibly Carter G. Woodson. DuBois had visited the Fishers in Lorain, probably before World War I. Leontyne Price, another good friend, no doubt met Miss Fisher after the latter's return to the States and the Library in 1952 to prepare guides and calendars for many of the manuscript copies acquired under her direction until her retirement in 1956. Coming back home permitted reactivation of a long-established friendship with Dorothy B. Porter, now curator emeritus of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, whom Miss Fisher held in highest esteem as a scholar. She also revived cordial relationships with a number of other people.

Resumption of permanent residence in Washington did not, however, break her ties abroad. She went back a few times and many foreign

friends came to see her in Washington, for neither the Atlantic Ocean nor race could prevent the development and maintenance of a mutually desired relationship with Ruth Anna Fisher. It is perhaps worth noting that the general acceptance of her on her own merits as an Afro-American in Great Britain and on the continent before and after World War II would hardly have been paralleled in this country until the 1960's—if then. Understandably, she continued to prefer life in Great Britain although she attracted a coterie of new friends in the United States who remained attentive to the end.

According to some of them although age did not altogether temper her candor, it brought her more beauty and greater perceptivity of human nature. A twinkle still brightened her lonely eyes, especially in the presence of youth. One anomaly was that, as a childless woman, she grew more fond of children, who in turn enjoyed her company. A close bond developed between her and David Fox, the epileptic middle son of Dr. and Mrs. Fox. They had a rare understanding that transcended age and found being together pleasurable. They exchanged cards and notes. David delighted in giving Miss Fisher needed but never requested assistance. She, ever thoughtful of her friends, was nevertheless always deeply touched when they were equally kind. She noticeably inspired gallantry in men and admiration in women, even those who did not understand that the snobbishness attributed to her by a few people was more likely a reflection of certain aspects of both her American and her British experience.

Though she never overtly called attention to her ethnic identity, she had for her Afro-American background a pride that required no touting. She simply refused to let race or any other artificially imposed distinction impinge upon her being Ruth Anna Fisher, person. Described variously as "thoughtful and warm," "greatly respected," "cosmopolitan," "a marvelous scholar," and "a woman of the greatest dignity of anyone I have ever known," Miss Fisher had just cause to appreciate herself. She expressed her gratitude to the individuals and institutions who had contributed to her being, well-being, and development not only in contributing directly to them but also in helping others when she could. Besides maintaining her lifelong membership in the First Congregational Church of

Lorain, she left small bequests to it and to the National Universalist Memorial Church in Washington. She also left her library and some cash to Oberlin College, which she had often praised for her enriching experiences there.

As the couple who had sent her to Europe advanced in age, the wife had to be confined; Miss Fisher visited her until her patron became hopelessly senile. Spring 1925 letters and cables between Miss Fisher and Dr. Jameson in the Jameson papers document her efforts to secure a teaching position in the United States for a young acquaintance who would receive the Ph.D. degree from the University of London that June.²⁴ Correspondence in the same file also reflects her eagerness to send Dr. Jameson periodicals and other items not easily obtainable in America. Her ultimate testimonial to his memory was appropriately a festschrift, *J. Franklin Jameson: A Tribute*, edited by her and William Fox and published by the Catholic University of America Press in 1965. Her determination that such a work be published was so touching that, when others declined the responsibility, Dr. Fox offered to share with Miss Fisher the editorship of what, in his words, resulted in "one of the finest of her accomplishments." The 13 other contributors were contemporaries of Jameson, historians he had assisted personally, and those who had used materials made available through

projects in American history conceived by him.

An equally significant contribution made by Ruth Anna Fisher years before was her first major publication, a collection of *Extracts From the Records of the African Companies* (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1930). This volume is one means she employed to express her interest in the black experience and awareness of its historical value decades before it achieved its present prominence. Again, though Miss Fisher was not by nature a public protester like Mrs. Terrell, she felt it her duty—at age 77—to participate in the historic March on Washington, August 28, 1963, when Dr. Martin Luther King delivered his memorable "I Have a Dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial.

Anna Murray Douglass, Mary Church Terrell, and Ruth Anna Fisher had similar hopes. In striving to actualize her particular ideas, each woman, as was said of Miss Fisher, "in her own way left her mark on quite a number of lives." Fortunately, they were good marks. Therefore in the final analysis it does not really matter whether these women are rated outstanding or obscure. Of much greater importance is that each expressed concern for others in positive acts which made her world a better place because she had lived in it. How changed would our world be if each of us went and did likewise?

NOTES

¹ Rosetta Douglass Sprague, "Anna Murray Douglass: My Mother as I Recall Her," p. 6 and *passim*, Frederick Douglass papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

² Lewis H. Douglass, untitled statement, n.d., Frederick Douglass papers, Manuscript Division.

³ Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴ Frederick Douglass papers, Manuscript Division.

⁵ A joint letter dated December 6 and December 7, 1859, from Rosetta and Annie respectively to their father in the Frederick Douglass papers, Manuscript Division. Annie also includes in hers eight lines of an antislavery "piece" she is going to speak in school and describes the hanging of "poor Mr. Brown." The child grieved herself to death in 1860 because of her father's extended exile in England. He had been falsely charged with being involved in the raid on Harper's Ferry.

⁶ See Annette E. Church and Roberta Church, *The Robert R. Churches of Memphis* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1974), vi–xiii and *passim*.

⁷ Church and Church, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–18.

⁸ See Terrell family correspondence (1900–1909), Robert H. Terrell papers, Manuscript Division.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Nothing marred Phyllis' graduation exercises, which Judge Terrell did not live to attend. She wore the robe in which he, as the first colored person to be graduated magna cum laude from Harvard University, had participated in his own commencement as a speaker 43 years before, in 1884. See June 5–8, 1927, entries, diaries, Mary Church Terrell papers, Manuscript Division.

¹¹ January 30 and March 24, 1951, entries, diaries, Mary Church Terrell papers, Manuscript Division. Mary, a few years older than Phyllis, was adopted when she was a pre-teenager to be a sister-companion to Phyllis in part because Mrs. Terrell was often out of the city on lecture tours. In her book Mrs. Terrell does not indicate when the formal adoption took place and shows no distinction made between the two girls

in their upbringing. For example, she refers to Mary by name as one of the "children" in a letter of June 7, 1909, to her husband, urging him to take them to a baseball game. See *A Colored Woman in a White World* (Washington, D.C.: Ransdell, Inc., 1940), pp. 116-17, and *passim*; and Terrell family correspondence, Robert H. Terrell papers, Manuscript Division.

¹³ To have an article or a book which treated the race problem realistically from the Afro-American point of view accepted by white editors and publishers was very difficult for Mrs. Terrell and all other black writers of the early 20th century. She referred to fruitless rounds of visits to the offices of editors and publishers, as when she was in New York City in January 1905, and elaborated: "I have written several stories and only one was accepted. That one was a rather humorous sketch of a Colored cook who believed in Night Doctors. It was probably accepted, because it made the Colored cook appear ridiculous. If it were possible to induce American magazines to accept stories about Colored people 'that arouse the spectator's (the reader's) sympathy' it would be such an appeal in behalf of justice and equality of opportunity as the great masses of the dominant race could not resist. I have been told by several editors that there was no use sending them articles or stories on the Race Problem, for they would not accept them, no matter how well written they might be. The fact that articles rejected by American magazines were accepted by the *Nineteenth Century and After* [a British publication] proves that they were not rejected here, because they were so poorly written. Once the widow of Robert G. Ingersoll invited me to a luncheon at which the editors of several magazines were present. I asked one of them if one should write a novel setting forth conditions under which Colored people actually live today—their inability to secure employment, to assault and battery constantly committed upon their hearts, their sensibilities and their feelings, telling the true story of most of the lynchings of Colored men in the South, showing the horrors of the Chain Gangs and the Convict Lease Camps, would he accept it for his magazine, provided it was as artistically and as strongly done as Uncle Tom's Cabin. He admitted he would not and asked the other editors present if they would. They all declared that a modern Uncle Tom's Cabin would not be available, because it would hurt the sale of their respective magazines. That is the whole thing in a nut shell. There is a 'Conspiracy of silence' on the part of the American press, so far as presenting the Colored-American's side of the story is concerned. Anybody who makes him ridiculous or criminal can get a hearing in the press, but his trials and struggles and heart aches are tabooed. There is hardly any use, therefore, for a Colored woman who wants to make an appeal for justice and equality of opportunity thru the medium of the short

story or the movies to make the effort. The advice to writers, therefore, should be 'write mainly of characters who arouse the spectators sympathy, provided those characters are white. Be sure you let your brothers and sisters of a darker hue alone, unless you make them monkeys or criminals.'"¹⁴ See entries, January 24-26, 1905, diaries; and incomplete letter, no salutation, n.d., Mary Church Terrell papers, Manuscript Division.

¹⁴ Mary Church Terrell, op. cit., pp. 203-4.

¹⁵ Unpleasant incidents marred many of Mrs. Terrell's trips. Once, on a speaking tour, she was caught in a "terrible blizzard" in Brooklyn. "I came near being overcome by the wind—almost lost my breath. The very worst day and most inclement weather I ever experienced. . . . I struggled to get home. I barely reached the hotel. . . ." She also had "many harrowing experiences in the Jim Crow cars down South," about which she protested to railroad officials. Again, in Atlanta she recorded another insult, more subtle, about which protest would have been useless. Her diary entry reads in part: "Visited office of Voice of [the] Negro. . . . Rode down on elevator for white people, because freight elevator on which colored people ride was being used. White man mistook me for a white woman, but when he saw I am colored he pretended to be brushing something off his hat—Rode down in elevator for colored people with white men wearing hats and a dog." See entries dated January 25, February 21, and February 27, 1905, diaries, Mary Church Terrell papers, Manuscript Division.

¹⁶ At the International Congress of Women in Zurich, Switzerland, in May 1919, Mrs. Terrell spoke for the whole American delegation at an evening meeting in the largest cathedral in the city. A letter to Judge Terrell describes in detail the "wonderful triumph" of her speech to nearly 3,000 people that made her feel that, "If I die tonight . . . I will not have lived in vain. . . . What did I say? . . . Well, I told the plain, unvarnished ugly truth in as strong German as the words in that language enabled me to set it forth. I was just, I thanked the broad-minded white women of the United States for inviting me to the Congress and said that all race-problems would have long ago disappeared from the world, if people everywhere would follow their example. I said it was my duty as well as a great pleasure to admit that many white people in the United States help Colored people with money and in every way they can, and then I went on for fifteen minutes and revealed to those foreigners the fearful injustices of every description perpetrated upon Colored people in the United States. . . . Letter dated May 18, 1919, Terrell family correspondence, Robert H. Terrell papers, Manuscript Division.

¹⁷ Telephone interview of Mrs. Henry W. Edgerton by Sylvia Lyons Render on May 8, 1975.

²⁷ Principal's correspondence, Booker T. Washington papers, Manuscript Division. Miss Fisher apparently retained this independence of mind and spirit, for friends of her last years describe her as strong-willed and "stubborn," though always queenly.

²⁸ Ruth Anna Fisher, "A Tribute," in Ruth Anna Fisher and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *J. Franklin Jameson: A Tribute* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1965), p. 3.

²⁹ See Ruth Anna Fisher folder, office file, J. Franklin Jameson papers, Manuscript Division.

³⁰ See letter dated October 23, 1927, from Samuel Flagg Bemis, director of the Historical Mission of the Library of Congress, to Miss Fisher, appointing her

as "Assistant" in his London work, in "Project A" materials on Great Britain, Manuscript Division archives, Manuscript Division.

³¹ *Library of Congress Information Bulletin*, 15 (April 2, 1956): 170. Andrews, noted for his scholarship in early American history, served as professor of history at Yale University in the course of a distinguished career.

³² Manuscript Division.

³³ Official administrative files, Central Services Division, Library of Congress.

³⁴ Office file, J. Franklin Jameson papers, Manuscript Division.

WOMAN

on Stage

by Milton Kaplan

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John W. Isham's Grand Opera Celebrities. Great Singers of the Century. Lithograph by the Strobridge Lith. Co. 1896. LC-USZ61-1016.

27

Greeting to America. Jenny Lind. Lithograph by A. Schwartz & F. Moné. Printed by Nagel & Weingaertner. 1850. LC-USZ62-01295.

28

[Animal Tamer] Lithograph by Gibson & Co. 1872. LC-USZ62-1146.



26

29

Ellen Tree in the Character of Mariane in "The Wreckers Daughter." Lithograph by Henri Heidemanns. Printed by Nathaniel Currier. 1837. LC-USZ62-54601.

30

Madame Celeste as Miami, in Buckstone's Celebrated Drama "Green Bushes." Lithograph by Nathaniel Currier. 1848. LC-USZ62-15674.

31

Anna Held in "Papa's Wife." Lithograph by Strobridge Lith. Co. 1900. LC-USZ62-11878.



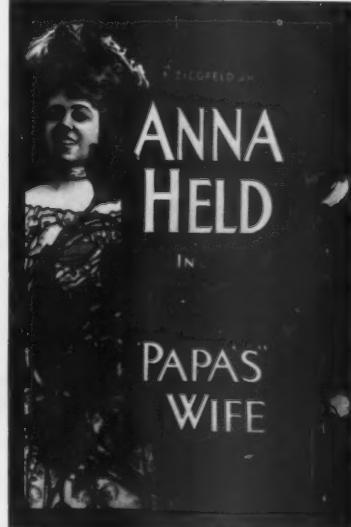
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The Library of Susan B. Anthony

by Leonard N. Beck

The high tide and ebb of the first phase of American feminism are described by Eleanor Flexner as a century of struggle.¹ Succeeded first by what Kate Millett calls "the counterrevolution" of 1930-60 and now by "women's liberation," this struggle was most visibly and successfully manifested in the suffrage movement. Two special collections in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress

reflect the personalities and interests of two of the women of great energy, intellectual power, and sheer human worth most responsible for this success. The earlier acquisition was the personal library of Susan B. Anthony, given in 1903 along with her manuscripts largely because of her friendship with Ainsworth Spofford, then Librarian Emeritus. With Miss Anthony's example before her, Carrie Chapman Catt donated what



she called her "feminist library" in the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1938.

Since women's suffrage has been shown in practice to be incapable of either ruining society or saving it, the old feminists have been accused of single-minded concentration on too small a goal. It is true that, like their collectors, these books do concentrate on the ballot. However, both libraries stray from their focus sufficiently to demonstrate the collector's awareness of other factors in woman's quest for her personal and group identity. As for Miss Anthony herself, a very observant contemporary perceived that American feminists were engaged in a comprehensive revolt against the social institutions from whose making they were excluded. In 1883, before writing *The Bostonians*, Henry James asked himself what the most salient and peculiar

point of our social life was and answered "the situation of women, the decline of the sentiment of sex." Lionel Trilling points out that *The Bostonians* depicts militant feminism not as a quarrel over rights or privileges but as a movement of sexual revolution. Professor Trilling adds that a sexual revolution "is to be understood as a question which a culture puts to itself, and right down to its very roots."²

Alike in their view of life as a scene of toil and appointed work, of evils to be uprooted and great causes striven for, Mrs. Catt and Miss Anthony were persons of quite different modes of self-expression. More administrator-lobbyist than crusader, Mrs. Catt was known among her associates affectionately as "Big Boss"; Miss Anthony was called "Aunt Susan." The two collections now in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress reflect this difference. Mrs. Catt's books carry her bookplate, but the library of the "Big Boss" is impersonal, in fact literally institutional, since it was the library of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. "Aunt Susan's" is the personal library once shelved in the study of the Madison Street house in Rochester, N.Y., that Susan Anthony shared with her sister Mary.

The Anthony library is a small one—fewer than 400 items—and has no particular pretensions to rarity. Its interest lies in the glimpses it provides of "Aunt Susan," the private person overshadowed by "Susan B.," the feminist movement symbol too often stereotyped as unrelieved

Ida Husted Harper described Susan Anthony's study in the south wing of the second floor of the Madison Street house in Rochester, N.Y., as "the most attractive room in the house . . . It is light and sunshiny and has an open gas fire. Looking down from the walls are Benjamin Lundy, Garrison, Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Frances Wright, Ernestine L. Rose, Abby Kelly Foster, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lucy Stone, Lydia Maria Child and, either singly or in groups, many more of the great reformers of the past and present century. On one side are the book shelves, with cyclopedia, histories and other volumes of reference: on another an inviting couch, where the busy worker may drop down for a few moments' repose of mind and body." The family record, sampler, and quilt shown in the picture were made by Susan Anthony at the age of 11.

Leonard N. Beck is curator of special collections in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

American Gothic. In the winter of 1902-3, the two Anthonys and Ida Husted Harper, Susan's biographer, prepared her books for shipment to Washington. During the "sessions of sweet silent thought" induced by this last farewell, Miss Anthony sometimes further personalized her books by autographing them or indicating what they or their donors meant to her. The annotations, Miss Anthony's "remembrances of things past," seem to admit the reader into her intimacy. These notes may contribute toward a freshening of the portrait of "Aunt Susan," now dimmed by the passage of time like an old daguerreotype, by pointing first to her confidences on her contemporaries and her family and then to her response to imaginative literature in general.

In her annotations the figures of Miss Anthony's memories on occasion take on almost

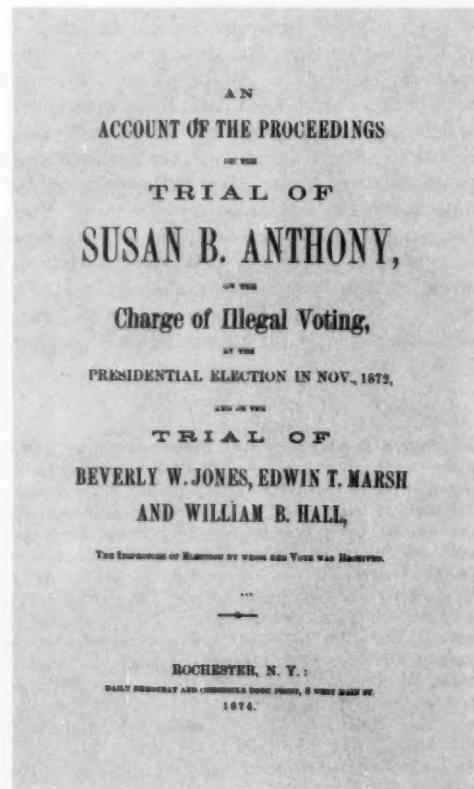
physical form. A booklet of speeches by Wendell Phillips evokes first the man himself, "the beautiful face—the fine figure," before recalling for her "the matchless orator—the true friend—the like of him we shall never see again." In another booklet a speech by George William Curtis is accompanied by two others by Henry Ward Beecher. Miss Anthony saw Curtis' person, calling him "a match almost for Wendell Phillips in exterior," before thinking to distinguish oratorical excellences: "Curtis with a manuscript and Phillips without a manuscript were without their peer in oratory."

Phillips, Curtis, and the others who had infuriated Miss Anthony after 1865 by insisting that woman suffrage had to wait on the "negro's hour" had apparently been quite forgiven by the winter of 1902-3. One wonders if Henry Ward Beecher had been as thoroughly absolved for the

*This I give to the
Congessional Library
Washington D.C.
Susan B. Anthony
17 Madison Street
Rochester, N.Y.
Dec. 21. 1902
When Mary S. Anthony
is done with it
M.S.A.*

This annotation is a reminder that there were two strong-minded Anthony sisters. Susan wrote, "This I give to the Congressional Library, Washington D.C." An equally strong handwriting adds, "When Mary S. Anthony is done with it" and signs "M.S.A."

This is Susan Anthony's copy of the proceedings instituted to test the legality of woman suffrage under the 14th Amendment. Together with 15 other women, Miss Anthony registered and voted in the elections of November 1872. At her trial for having violated the election laws the judge discharged the jury and imposed a \$100 fine which she never paid.



great Tilton scandal or Harriet Beecher Stowe for her support of her brother and perhaps for the caricatured feminist Audacia Dangereyes in her *My Wife and I*. In the little volume he shares with Curtis, Henry Ward Beecher is noted only as "always ready with his powerful eloquence to speak for the slave and woman's freedom and franchise." Miss Anthony dispatched *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston: J. P. Jewett & Company, 1852) to the Library with an admonition to "generations to come" to "be thankful that the crime of slavery is done away with although we are still far from just to the negro" without making reference to the author. C. E. Stowe's *Life* of his mother (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1891) is completely unmarked. This silence is to be compared with Miss Anthony's outburst on a copy of F. J. Garrison's memorial of Ann Phillips (Boston: Privately printed, 1886): "This is too precious to go now. The Library can have it after I am gone."

One great historical personage unforgiven at the end was Daniel Webster, the "godlike Daniel" who all abolitionists knew had lost his soul in the "Seventh of March" speech in support of the Compromise of 1850. Miss Anthony wrote on the flyleaf of *The Life, Eulogy, and Great Orations of Daniel Webster* (Rochester: W. M. Hayward & Co., 1854) that "Webster was matchless in powers of oratory but lacking in principles." In another case one seems to see Miss Anthony making a conscientious effort to be what she called "fair." She had outgeneraled Paulina Davis in the parliamentary battle of the National Woman's Rights Convention of 1852 and had helped write her own *History of Woman Suffrage*. However, in one of her copies of Mrs. Davis' *A History of the National Woman's Rights Movement* (New York: Journeymen Printers' Co-operative Association, 1871) she calls the author "very fair" in her depiction of personalities and events.

Miss Anthony recalls Horace Greeley in the annotation to *The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren* (London, New York: T. Nelson and Sons, 1888), given her by a sister of John Bright, the great English reformer, who "like Horace Greeley got a crotchet in his head that he didn't believe in woman suffrage." The word "crotchet" reduces to mere querulousness Greeley's feud with Miss Anthony after his humiliation in the

verbal passage of arms over female military service. "Miss Anthony," drawled Greeley, "if you vote are you also prepared to fight?" "Certainly," she flared, "just as you fought the last war—at the point of a goose quill." Susan Anthony's ire is excusable. Greeley was one of those who most angered her by repeating that women were better than men while refusing to treat them as if they were as good.

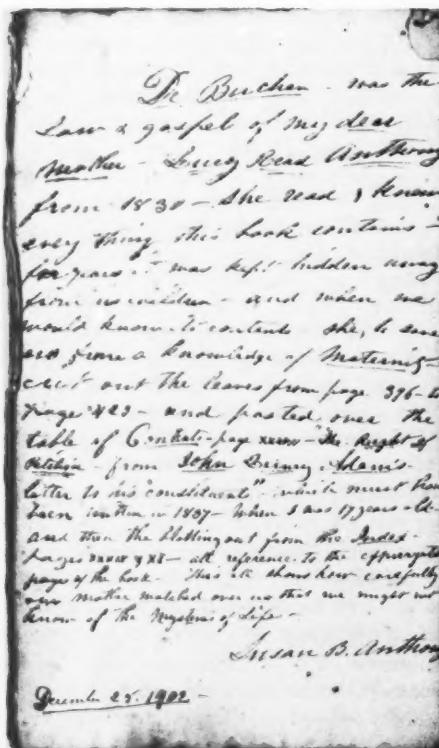
From Susan Anthony's other contemporaries, this article will single out Moncure D. Conway, the Virginia clergyman in England, the radical nature of whose thinking is manifested by the appearance of his ex libris on a number of editions of Tom Paine now in the Rare Book Division. It was at Conway's house during her visit to England that Miss Anthony heard that Ralph Waldo Emerson, Louisa May Alcott, George Ripley and some of the others were wearying of their early ideas and returning to the old doctrines. Miss Anthony's shock at this report expresses her lack of personal experience in wrestling with the uncertainties or self-doubts that beset other mortals. Conway's *Golden Hour* (Boston: Ticknor and Field, 1862) was given her by Parker Pillsbury, a co-editor of *The Revolution*, who inscribed his *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles* (Boston: Cupples, Upham, & Co., 1884) to her "in memory of Lang Syne." On the verso of the title page of Pillsbury's *Church As It Is* (Boston: B. Marsh, 1847) is a clipping from a Charlestown, S.C., newspaper advertising a slave sale. On it appears, in Miss Anthony's distinctive handwriting: "Who could believe this was just a time ago."

The annotations suggest that the frequently proffered explanation that the feminists were motivated by their rejection of the family roles they saw played by their mothers needs expansion in Susan Anthony's case. If she did not like the self-effacement of Lucy Anthony's life style, she did seek her approval and think affectionately of her person. In a volume of her periodical publication *The Revolution*, Miss Anthony wrote: "My dear mother would have been 100 years old today. I gave her this with a great deal of pride." A volume of verse with a dated inscription from one of her admirers evokes from Miss Anthony only the comment that the date was that of her mother's birthday.

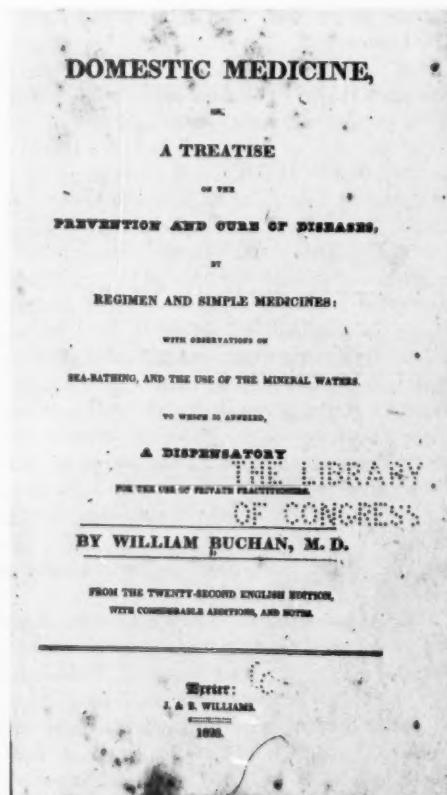
Daniel Anthony shared his daughter's values and was always supportive. But it was most often Lucy Anthony whom Susan remembered in going through her books. In two cases the names of the parents are juxtaposed. The second volume of Susan Anthony's copy of *Bleak House* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853) carries the name of both Lucy and Daniel, but Susan presented it in memory of her mother, "who for all her hard work—found time to read these volumes through and through many times." The annotation to *The Works of That Eminent Minister of the Gospel, Job Scott* (Philadelphia: J. Conley, 1831) further illustrates this difference in recall. It begins "Presented to the Library—that the reader may see the doctrines that were taught to my father's children." This sentence is immediately followed by: "My mother

used to say that she became a better Quaker—or Friend—than was my father." When Daniel's name appears alone, it is without comment. For example, noting in Lydia M. Child's *Issac T. Hopper: A True Life* (Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co., 1853) that her father greatly admired Hopper, the prison reformer and abolitionist, Susan adds only that she shared this admiration.

The copy of Lockhart's edition of *The Works of Robert Burns* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1853) given her by her brother reminded Susan not of the giver but of her mother. When Daniel senior owned the mill at Battenville the only man among the spoolers, spinners, and weavers was a Scot who read aloud with the "real dialect" and delighted Lucy with "A Man's a Man for A' That." *The Lady of the Lake* (New York: J. Lomax, 1831) recalled to Susan her mother's



Lucy Anthony's method of censorship.



prodigious memory, her ability to repeat the half or more of Scott's verse. In the first volume of *Bleak House* Susan wrote: "These leaves are sacred to me because worn thin with my dear mother's reading." Lucy had inserted in this volume a picture of Dickens she had found somewhere and over the years Susan took care to preserve it.

Looking back at Lucy's practice, her daughter described the Victorian conspiracy of silence around childbirth in an annotation that ought to be a *locus classicus* for the social historian. The book is William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (Exeter: J. & B. Williams, 1828). Susan Anthony wrote:

Dr. Buchan was the law and gospel of my dear mother: *Lucy Read Anthony*—from 1830—She read & knew every thing the book contains—for years it was kept hidden away from us children—and when we

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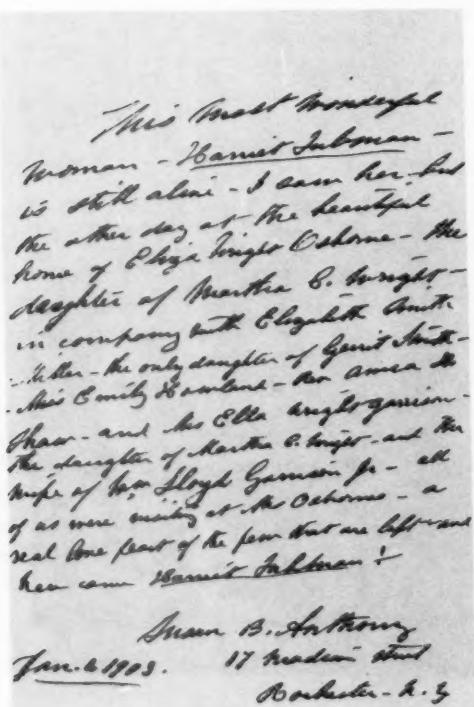
CONTENTS.

Readers of the biographies of Susan B. Anthony perhaps need the reminder that the books they depict her as reading that quiet autumn of 1851 when she took the water cure came out of her doctor's library. Madame de Staël, George Sand, Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, Frances Wright's *A Few Days in Athens*, and Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* will not be found in the Anthony library received in the Library of Congress in 1903. There is a copy of *Jane Eyre* in the collection (London: Smith,

The first version of this book, entitled Scenes From the Life of Harriet Tubman, was published in 1869 through the support of Elizabeth Stanton's cousin Gerrit Smith and Wendell Phillips. Its profits, like those of subsequent editions, were donated to the home for indigent aged Negroes in Auburn, N.Y. Harriet Tubman was called "Moses" for leading more than 300 Negroes over the Underground Railway from bondage into freedom. John Brown referred to her as "General Tubman."

Elder & Co., 1882), but it is inscribed in memory of a visit to the Brontë house at Haworth in 1883. To annotate this *Jane Eyre* we might borrow from Miss Anthony's description of her visit her invocation of the "three delicate women sitting in the fireless mouldy church, listening to the old father's dry, hard theology, with their feet on the cold carpetless stones which covered their loved ones. . . . It was too horrible. . . . Then I walked over the single stone pathway through the fields to the moor, opened the same wooden gate, and was, and still continue to be, dipped into the depths of their utter loneliness and sadness, born so out of time and place."³ This passage, written by a woman who said that with pen in hand she felt as clumsy as if mounted on stilts, perhaps owes its sensitivity to Susan Anthony's thought of her own sisters.

Another story that is a favorite of the Anthony biographers relates her search of the shelves for a copy of *Shirley* to give a niece upon her marriage. She found *Villette* and *Jane Eyre*, but had to



HARRIET

THE MOSES OF HER PEOPLE

BY
SARAH H. BRADFORD

"Farewell, ole Master, don't think hard of me,
I'm going on to Canada, where all de niggers are free."

"Jesus, Jesus will go wid you,
He will lead you to His throne,
He who died has gone before you,
Tred do whoo-prem all alone."

NEW YORK
PRINTED BY
J. J. LITTLE & CO.
1901

purchase *Shirley* specially for the purpose. Probably she inscribed *Shirley* with a sentence or two about the clarion call it makes to women to find work and do it. About *Villette* no conjecture is permitted this writer. Kate Millett, who says *Villette* reads like one long meditation on a prison break, also says that no man can understand it. The Brontës seem to have meant for Miss Anthony and the feminists of her generation Charlotte Brontë only. Caroline Dall's *The College, the Market, and the Court*,⁴ which Mrs. Catt thought one of the most important feminist books, says "the publication of *Jane Eyre* formed the chief era in the literature of women since that literature began." Certainly the feminists could rejoice in *Jane Eyre*'s demonstration that she had as much soul and mind as Mr. Rochester with considerably more heart. One must wonder as to their reaction to the "I am Heathcliffe" outburst of Cathy Earnshaw in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*.

Even in this summary review, it is possible to generalize that Susan Anthony read primarily for immediately practical information. In this respect she was completely unlike Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her closest associate, for whose intensely experiencing spirit books meant emotional stimulus as well as intellectual satisfaction. Miss Anthony may have been constitutionally unresponsive to belles lettres: she told the newspaperwoman Nelly Bly that she knew nothing of art and could not tell one hymn tune from another. In her copy of Sarah Josepha Hale's *Complete Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853) she confessed amusedly: "I never could learn more than one line of poetry."

Perhaps an indifference to imaginative literature was for some of the first feminists an occupational disease caused by the focus on concrete action. Her biographer says that Mrs. Catt decided "that she should restrain her reading to essentials and gave up reading for entertainment so completely that in the course of time she lost altogether her love for poetry and had little appetite for fiction."⁵ On the other hand, Mrs. Stanton's lifelong feeling for poetry was so sure that she early recognized Whitman's genius, although she reproached him for his failure to understand woman's pleasure in the "creative act" of sex. The differences possibly ought to be

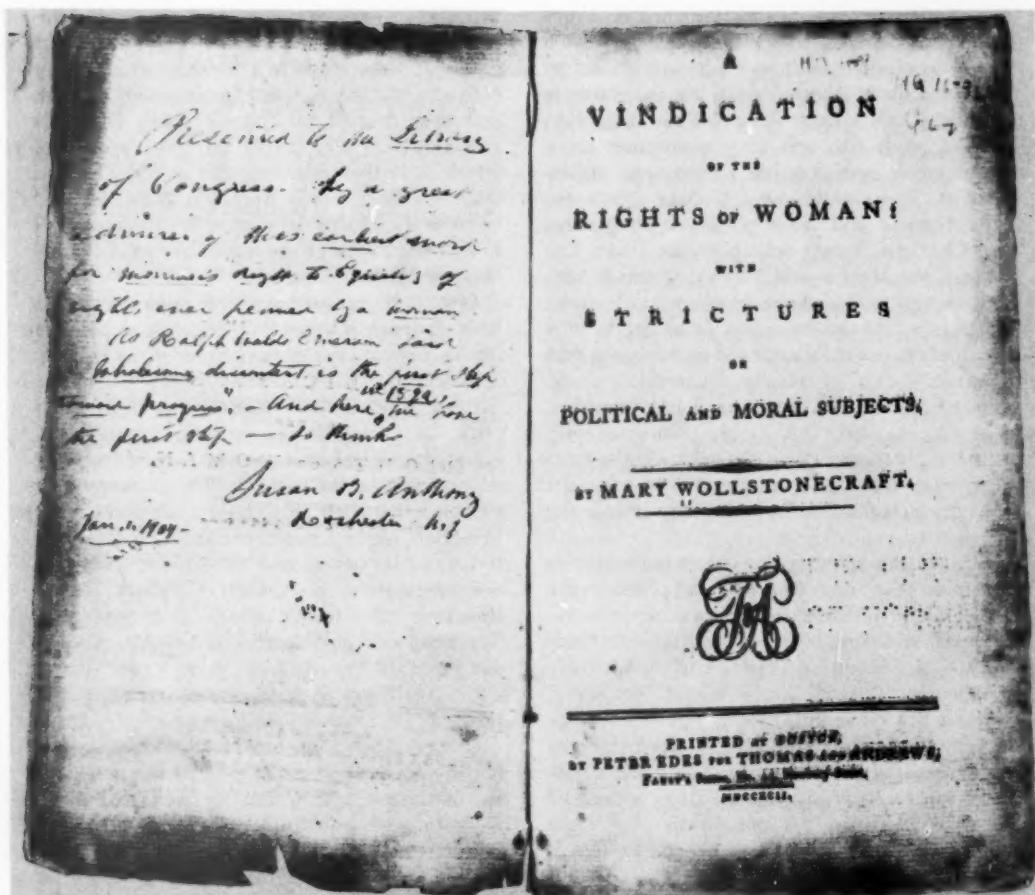
ascribed to early training. At Iowa State University Mrs. Catt had been drilled on Herbert Spencer. Miss Anthony's literary education at Deborah Moulson's Select Seminary for Females had been limited to Young's *Night Thoughts* and Cowper's *The Task*, her father's copy of which is in the collection. But at the Troy Female Seminary, young Elizabeth Cady had read voraciously, ironing her clothes by sitting on them so that she might at the same time read George Sand or Madame de Staël.

One of the two anthologies of poetry owned by Miss Anthony is annotated, but only to point to Maria Edgeworth's participation in its editing. Her copy of Tennyson's *Poems* (London: Edward Maxon, 1846) had been given by Frederick Douglass, the great Negro orator and editor, to Abigail Mott, an abolitionist friend in Albany, and by the latter to Miss Anthony. This edition is too early to include Tennyson's "The Princess," whose feminist theme seems forgotten today in comparison with the jeweled lyrics that are interspersed. Except for Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the poetry group plummets after Tennyson to a half dozen slim volumes of what can be called "near-poetry," very frequently inscribed to Susan Anthony by the versifier and probably kept by her for that reason.

Certainly some of the prose classics in her library seem to have mattered to her primarily for the people with whom she associated them. *Don Quixote* meant to Miss Anthony her niece, *Pilgrim's Progress* her sister and brother-in-law, and *Robinson Crusoe* the young nephew who died so tragically on the eve of his graduation. She is silent about Ralph Waldo Emerson, whom she knew and whose claim of innate divinity for every human being is surely one of the wellsprings of her thought. A volume of his *Essays* is unannotated although very frequently underlined; the accompanying *Representative Men* is completely unmarked.

For Miss Anthony the poet was Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the touchstone of poetry her novel in verse *Aurora Leigh*, for reasons not wholly related to poetry. It is clear that in lines in *Aurora Leigh* like:

... You forget too much
That every creature, female as the male,
Stands single in responsible act and thought
As also in birth and death,



One of two American editions of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* that appeared in the same year as the first English edition.

Susan Anthony recognized her own conviction that women must develop their own potential without regard to what men wish or imagine them to be. In an entry in her diary for 1860 she recorded the comfort that reading *Aurora Leigh* gave her in moments of depression and her wish that women make the character their model. Her annotation to her copy of the first American edition (New York, Boston: C. S. Francis & Co., 1857) says: "This book was carried in my satchel for years and read and reread. The noble words of Elizabeth Barrett, as Wendell Phillips always

called her, sunk deep into my heart. I have always cherished it above all books."

The appearance of the works of Mary Wollstonecraft and Frances Wright in the Anthony Collection is a reminder of the permanent value of these first champions of the feminist ideology. Mary Wollstonecraft's picture hung on the living room wall in the Madison Street house and Susan Anthony serialized her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in *The Revolution*. In her last speech to a suffrage convention (Baltimore, 1906) Miss Anthony invoked the memory of "that great woman" and asked her listeners to continue the work she had inaugurated. Olive Schreiner later began to write a biography of Mary Wollstonecraft, and Margaret Sanger

printed a paean to her memory in the first issue of the *Woman Rebel*.

The frontispiece portrait of the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage*, prepared by Elizabeth Stanton, Susan Anthony, and Ida Husted Harper, is that of Frances ("Fanny") Wright D'Arusmont, perhaps the first "new woman" in the New World. In her defense of her Nashoba communal living experiment Fanny Wright deplored the servitude of matrimony and advocated miscegenation; with Robert Dale Owen she edited journals supporting the labor movement, universal democracy, and birth control. Hearing herself called an infidel, Elizabeth Stanton decided to look up her associates, so both Fanny Wright and Tom Paine were on her library table. Miss Anthony owned Fanny Wright's *Biography, Notes and Political Letters* in the New York (1844) and Boston (1849) editions. Her collection also includes a copy of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* (New York: G. Vale, 1850) but not *The Age of Reason*. There is a copy of Carlo Botta's *History of the War of American Independence* (New Haven: Nathan Whiting, n.d.) in the Anthony Collection. One wonders if Miss Anthony preserved it because for Fanny Wright this book had been the revelation that "there existed a country consecrated to freedom, and in which man might awake to the full knowledge and exercise of his powers."⁶

Most surprising is the absence from Susan Anthony's representation of the great articulations of feminism of anything by Margaret Fuller, since her familiarity with Fuller's writings can be taken for granted. Caroline Dall said that the life of Margaret Fuller was in everyone's hands and that not even "Boston women" fully realized her influence. Miss Fuller's synthesis of feminism and New England transcendentalism would have spoken to Susan Anthony more directly than Wollstonecraft's adaptation of revolutionary egalitarianism. Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Miss Fuller's precursors in the public discussion of feminism and the daughters of a slave-owning Southern family, are remembered only by Angelina's letter to the 1852 National Woman's Rights Convention. However, both Harriet and John Stuart Mill are well represented. Their combination of deep passion and high philosophy was certainly not equaled in feminist writing before Simone de Beauvoir, and probably not

then. Susan Anthony reprinted J. S. Mill's "Suffrage for Women" speech for use in the Kansas campaign of 1867 and serialized his *The Subjugation of Women* in *The Revolution*. The copy of *The Subjugation of Women* in the collection (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1869) carries the note: "This book has been the law for me since 1869."

The enumeration of some of the items that suggest the religious pattern of this library should begin with the Bible, which appears in a Kirk of Scotland version of 1789. *An Abridgement of the Book of Martyrs* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1818) is annotated: "This Book of Martyrs was read by me with bloodcurdling horror. It was among the few books in my parents' library as long ago as I can remember. Religion—what crimes are perpetrated in thy name!" John Woolman's *Journal* (Glasgow: R. Smeal, 1883) is annotated, but only to recall the names of the English friends who gave her this edition. One wishes that she had directly commented on the text—this record of the inward and outward experiences of one of the great Quakers is also a significant source of the fervor and commitment of the first American feminists. Susan Anthony's possession of the work of Job Scott, perhaps describable as a Quaker mystic, and its association with her father have already been mentioned.

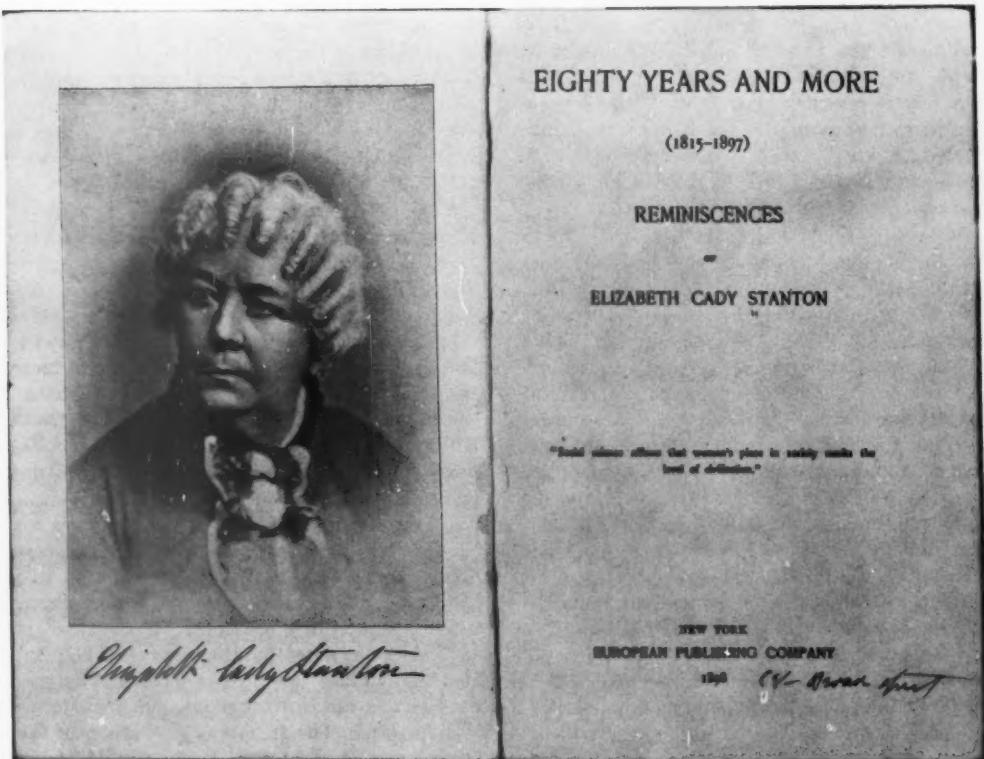
History is poorly represented, although for some reason the Anthony family had acquired two editions of Flavius Josephus' *History of the Jews*. French history is limited to biographies of Josephine and Napoleon (Lucy, her daughter said, knew Josephine and Napoleon the way she knew her ABC's), and English history to biographies of the Duke of Wellington and Duncan McLaren. Two books are mementos of travel within this country. E. E. Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1854) is associated with the Kansas suffrage campaign. James M. Hutchings gave his *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (New York, San Francisco: A. Roman and Company, 1871) when Stanton and Anthony visited what Hutchings called "Yo Semite" in 1871. Anthony notes that they slept elsewhere but ate at Hutchings' hotel, where possibly they met the man who ran Hutchings' sawmill, the naturalist John Muir. The *Historical Collections of the State of New York*, by J. W. Barber and H. Howe

(New York: S. Tuttle, 1842), is annotated to indicate the presence of an illustration showing the Troy Female Seminary.

The periodicals in the Anthony library include the *Woman's Tribune* (later *Woman's Journal*), the organ of the American Woman Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone and Henry Ward Beecher from Boston, which Susan Anthony liked to call "Boss-town." Harriet Stanton Blatch reports that the work of the Boston group was not mentioned in the *History of Woman Suffrage* until she herself repaired the omission. There are complete files of Garrison's *Liberator* and two of the other antislavery periodicals, John Collins' *Monthly Offering* and the *National Anti-Slavery Appeal*. Rochester friends of Daniel Anthony and his family—the Posts, De Garmos, and Hallows—who continued to be Susan Anthony's friends throughout her life, had joined in purchasing this subscription to the *Liberator*. The

three-volume biography of Garrison given Miss Anthony by his children is unannotated.

Susan Anthony's own periodical, *The Revolution*, styled itself the organ of the National Party of New America and advocated specifically suffrage regardless of race or sex and generally "down with politicians and up with people." Let it be underlined that *The Revolution* was not exclusively an agitator for suffrage: Elizabeth Stanton truly described herself as being incapable, unlike Poe's raven, of croaking suffrage forevermore. The division of labor among the triumvirate of Mrs. Stanton, Parker Pillsbury, and Miss Anthony was amusingly expressed by the *New York Independent*: "Working together they will paint a canvas of the Rembrandt school—Mrs. Stanton paints the high lights and Mr. Pillsbury the darks. In fact, the real editors are hope and despair. . . . Its business management is in the hands of Miss Susan B. Anthony,



who has long been known as one of the most indefatigable, honest, cross-grained and noble-minded of the famous women of America." But when *The Revolution* went bankrupt it was Susan who singly undertook to pay off the debt, working, someone said, like a plantation of slaves. One of the volumes of *The Revolution* in the collection carries the note: "And today I look back on the hard work to carry this big load—with wonder how it was done."

In 1855, the year she went throughout New York State on her first unaccompanied lecture tour, her father wrote her: "Would it not be wise to preserve the many amusing observations by the different papers, that years hence, in your more solitary moments, you and maybe your children can look over the views of both the friends and opponents of the cause?" At this suggestion Miss Anthony began the first of the 33 scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, programs, handbills, and other memorabilia, of which a microfilm edition has recently been prepared for ready consultation. The clippings were pasted in old ledgers given by businessmen of the community

Although quite different in many respects, Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony were lifelong friends and collaborators because of their complete agreement in thought and the exactness with which they complemented each other in the division of labor. Elizabeth Stanton wrote: "I am the better writer, she the better critic. She supplied the facts and statistics, I the philosophy and rhetoric. . . . So entirely one are we that, in all our associations, ever side by side on the same platform, not one feeling of envy or jealousy has ever shadowed our lives."

W. cement our friendship
of half a century, with
an exchange of our
autobiographies.
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
to Susan B. Anthony

and the original bookkeeping is often visible. Susan Anthony's order and method might be contrasted with the confusion of the similar scrapbooks in the National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection—also in the custody of the Library's Rare Book and Special Collections Division—in which the materials are too frequently undated or unascribed. These scrapbooks graphically illustrate the evolution of public attitudes toward Susan B. Anthony over the years, from derision to acceptance and praise, and even devotion from those who realized that she had devoted her life to humanity. Ainsworth Spofford thought the scrapbooks the best part of the Anthony library.

The Susan B. Anthony library is that of a woman whose primary interests were her family, her friends, and her cause. The other side of the coin of her pragmatic concentration on fact, her skill in seeking out means to her ends, is her relative indifference to intellectual speculation and imaginative perception. This does not say that she was hostile to or incapable of the intellectual life—no associate of Elizabeth Stanton's could be either—but that she had made a choice between doing and thinking, conscience and consciousness. Harriet Stanton Blatch perceived this and said it excellently in a letter written to Susan Anthony: "Carlyle said the end of man is an Action, not a Thought, and what a realization of that truth your life has been. You have been possessed by a moral force and you act. You are a Deed, not a Thinking."⁷

NOTES

¹ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959).

² Lionel Trilling, "The Bostonians," in *The Opposing Self* (New York: Viking, 1955), p. 110.

³ Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 2 (Indianapolis and Kansas City: Bowen-Merrill Company, 1898), p. 576.

⁴ Memorial edition (Boston, 1914), p. 112.

⁵ Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1944), pp. 32-33.

⁶ Frances D'Arusmont, *Biography, Notes, and Political Letters* (New York: John Windt, 1844), p. 11.

⁷ Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 2, p. 544.

WOMAN

♀

in Fashion

by Milton Kaplan

32

A Daughter of the South. Drawing by Charles Dana Gibson, for *Collier's; the National Weekly*, July 31, 1909. LC-USZ62-5536.

33

Mary. Lithographed by James Baillie. 1846. LC-USZ62-54600.

34

American Fashions. Spring and Summer 1886. Lithograph by Major, Knapp & Co. 1886. LC-USZ62-54279.



35

The Colored Beauty. Lithograph by Currier & Ives. 1877. LC-USZ62-35745.

36

The Grecian Bend, "She Stoops to Conquer." Lithograph by Studley & Co. 1868. LC-USZ62-02308.

37

"Bloomerism," or the New Female Costume of 1851, As it has appeared in the various Cities and Towns. Woodcut in *Bloomerism*, published by S. W. Wheeler. 1851. LC-USZ62-050171.



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"The Forgotten Population"

by Marlene C. McGuirl

The current movement for equal status and treatment for women is beginning to have an impact in a heretofore overlooked area of our society. After decades of neglect and misunderstanding, special concern for the female offender population confined in federal, state, and local penal institutions is taking shape and bearing some results. Time does not permit an indepth analysis of the problems faced by women in prison; rather this will be an attempt to focus attention on the special status of the female caught up in our criminal justice system. Emphasis will be placed on inconsistencies in treatment with regard to sentencing, confinement, and correctional and rehabilitation services provided for the woman in prison.

Women constitute a relatively small proportion of the total offender population and consequently are an equally small proportion of the confined population. In the Federal Bureau of Investigation's annual report on crime in the United States for 1973, it was ascertained that the ratio of total arrests for men to women was 6 to 1.¹ Crime Index offenses as measured by the Federal Bureau of Investigation include murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny of \$50 and over, and automobile theft. Of the arrests for crimes included on that index, 19 percent were women. Although the highest percentage of female arrests was for larceny (accounting for 20 percent of all female arrests), a relatively significant number arrested for violent crimes (10 percent) were females.² Since 1968 there has been a 52-percent increase in female arrests for serious crimes as a whole as compared to an 8-percent increase of male arrests for serious crimes during the same period. Total arrest trends of the seven index crimes show an in-

crease over the period 1960-73 in female arrests of 277.9 percent, while arrests of men increased 87.9 percent.³ It should be recognized, however, that this great increase in percentage of arrests for women does not reflect a trend attributed in some way to the equal rights movement. Instead, it merely reflects an increase in the number of female arrests, which, when compared with total arrest statistics, has consistently remained relatively small.

Several factors must be taken into consideration when studying the increase of female arrests. There have been refinements in statistic-gathering techniques over the past decade, and so the increases may be more apparent than actual. Inflation may have pushed up costs of stolen articles into the grand larceny or felony range and therefore into the serious crime range.

Analyzing the statistics and other literature available, one can readily ascertain that women have been arrested for and convicted of crimes of a primarily economic nature: larceny, forgery, fraud, embezzlement, prostitution. Such crimes can generally be categorized as lucrative and rather effortless for the woman. The reasons for such crimes may be apparent when it is considered that 80 percent of the imprisoned female population have children and "as many as 30 percent of women in prison were on public welfare before they were incarcerated."⁴ Although a majority of the women confined in jails have had to support themselves, they have far fewer job skills than confined men and thus it is not surprising that over half of them were unemployed at the time of their arrest.⁵ A logical conclusion may be that women commit crimes to obtain money and provide support for themselves and their children. The nation's economic ups

Women in Prison

and downs also must be considered when evaluating the causes behind the female crime rate. As economic recessions take hold, females are frequently the first affected, through loss of marital support or individual income. This may account for the increase in economically oriented crimes.

Sentencing

Where there are no statutory requirements, sentencing of a convicted criminal is usually handled in one of two ways by a judge. One theory of sentencing is to provide identical sentences for identical crimes; the other is to provide an individual sentence for an individual offender based on his character and personality. The latter method of sentencing involves a great deal of discretion on the part of the judge. It is in this area of judicial discretion that critics contend there can be the greatest inconsistency in sentencing patterns, and, in fact, studies have shown that women as a group receive lighter or shorter sentences than men.⁶

Statutes imposing different sentences on women than on men who were convicted of the same offense have a long history dating back to the very establishment of separate penal institutions for women. Before 1869 women offenders had been incarcerated in the same jails and prisons in which men were confined. The movement for separate institutions for women was first established by statute in Indiana in 1869, followed by Massachusetts in 1874 and 10 other states by 1917.⁷ These institutions, generally referred to as reformatories, established a revolutionary principle of corrections—namely, rehabilitation. The Indiana act created two departments for women in the Indiana Reformatory Institution

for Women and Girls, one a Penal Department for girls over 15 years of age who were sentenced to the state prison and the other a Reformatory Department for girls who were sentenced under the age of 15 years. In both departments the girls were not to be held beyond age 18:

All commitments to the Penal Department made under the provisions of this Act shall be until the . . . age of eighteen years; and all commitments to the Reformatory Department until they respectively attain the age of eighteen years, unless sooner discharged. . . .⁸

It was generally believed that women offenders should be detained in correctional institutions or industrial homes until they were ready for discharge or rehabilitated. This line of thinking led to passage of state statutes containing sentencing provisions applicable to women only and formed the basis upon which sex-based differences in sentencing were established.

Examples of differences in sentences imposed by statute on men and women exist today. These statutes generally provide for more indeterminate sentences for women than for men and can potentially lead to longer periods of confinement for women. If a person is sentenced under an indeterminate sentence provision, he or she must receive the maximum sentence for the offense. Thus, if burglary carries a sentence of one to three years, a judge may set the maximum term in a particular case at less than the statutory maximum, but the maximum sentence of an offender subject to indeterminate sentencing laws must be three years. Maryland, for instance, permits the sentencing of all women convicted of offenses carrying a maximum penalty

Marlene C. McGuirl is chief of the American-British Law Division.

exceeding three months to indefinite confinement, not to exceed the maximum term provided for the offense.⁹ The same indefinite sentence may only be imposed on men between the ages of 16 and 25.¹⁰ In Maine, a statute provides that women between the ages of 18 and 40 and men between the ages of 17 and 26 can be sentenced to reformatories for periods up to three years even if the maximum sentence is less.¹¹ The effect of such sentences may indeed be a longer period of detainment for a larger number of women than men.

In New Jersey, male offenders over 30 receive minimum-maximum sentences.¹² Until 1973, all female offenders who were sentenced to the Correctional Institution for Women received indefinite terms not to exceed five years or the statutory maximum, if less than five years.¹³ The New Jersey statute which provided for indeterminate sentences for women was struck down as unconstitutional in the case of *State v. Chambers*.¹⁴ The state in this case argued that sex-based classification for sentencing women was justified because women offenders were more likely to be rehabilitated, but the length of time necessary to do so ought to be within the discretion of the institution's Board of Managers. The New Jersey Supreme Court rejected that argument under the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. This case changed the New Jersey law so that now females over the age of 30 receive, as do men, minimum-maximum fixed sentences, unless a life sentence is imposed.

Connecticut and Pennsylvania sentencing statutes were challenged in 1968.¹⁵ Both were held unconstitutional as violations of the 14th amendment or equal protection clause. In both cases,¹⁶ the state courts held that a sex-based classification for imposing longer sentences on women than on men convicted of the same offense was unreasonable.

In the Connecticut case, the statute in question provided that women over 16 years of age convicted of felonies or misdemeanors and under certain other circumstances were to be sent to the women's state farm "for an indefinite period up to three years." It was asserted that the statute permitted women to be imprisoned for some crimes for longer periods of time than the statutory maximum sentences provided for men convicted of the same crimes. The Pennsylvania case

challenged the Muncy Act, under which a judge had no discretion for sentencing a woman to a shorter sentence than that imposed by law. The sentencing statute for men, however, permitted the judge to impose a shorter sentence than the statutory maximum. Thus, the maximum term for a woman based solely on her sex could potentially exceed the maximum imposed on a man convicted of the same offense.

Correctional Institutions

As stated earlier, Indiana was the first state to provide a correctional institution exclusively for women. The movement to segregate women was a reform movement aimed at rehabilitation of women in acceptable societal terms—namely, preparing them for their duties as mothers and homemakers. In the early years, there was opposition to the removal of women from the male prisons. Women prisoners were needed to do housekeeping chores which would otherwise have to be performed by outside help for pay. Further opposition was based on a lack of confidence in women's managerial ability in a prison situation.¹⁷ An extensive survey of reformatories for women in the United States was made by Eugenia Lekkerkerker, a Dutch lawyer, in 1931. Of the conditions which existed for women in the male prison she observed:

Though the separation of sexes was prescribed in all prisons, yet this was, in those primitive institutions, frequently not effected in such a way that women were completely removed out of sight or hearing of the men or even from other contacts with them, which led to much profanity, if not to worse. Only very few jails employed a matron to take care of the women's department, so that in most cases they were day and night under the supervision of men guards, who were as a rule not of a very high type and who frequently displayed the usual contempt of unrefined persons for women who have violated the laws of morality.¹⁸

It was soon recognized that women prisoners were becoming a problem. The poor conditions for housing federal female prisoners was discussed at some length in the hearings before the House Judiciary Committee in 1924 when the bill for establishment of a Federal Industrial Farm for Women was under consideration. In a letter to the committee, Attorney General H. M. Daugherty said:

Since I took office one of the most vexing administrative problems connected with prisons has arisen because of the lack of facilities for caring for women

sentenced by Federal courts. The establishment of housing facilities, owned by the Federal Government, for such prisoners is prompted by considerations of both economy and humanity.¹⁹

This statement emphasized the unsatisfactory conditions which existed for women squeezed into the overcrowded male prisons.

In state and federal correctional systems today, there are usually two separate prison systems—one for men and one for women. Although 375,000 men are imprisoned in the United States on any given day, only 15,000 or 4 percent of the total incarcerated population are women.²⁰ These statistics help one understand why the female prisoner has been virtually ignored or treated very briefly in the recent major studies or offender projects.²¹ The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals in its 1973 report comments:

Women's institutions, owing to their relatively small population and lack of influence, have been considered an undifferentiated part of the general institutional system and therefore have been subjected to male-oriented facilities and programing. Special requirements of the female offender have been totally ignored. Male domination often extends to administration of the institution.²²

Women offenders convicted of federal offenses were boarded in state institutions at least until 1924. By this time, federal female prisoners had increased to a number deemed sufficient to warrant the construction of special federal facilities. Assistant Attorney General Mabel W. Wilhelbrandt testified before Congress that "in 1921 the number of women which the Federal Government has placed around in institutions . . . was 192, in 1922 . . . 247, in 1923 . . . 563."²³ Congress enacted a law in 1924 calling for the construction of a women's prison²⁴ and in 1927 a 500-inmate facility was opened at Alderson, W. Va.²⁵

The congressional report made it clear that "it is the duty of the Federal Government to provide a place of confinement for its own women prisoners, wherein they may have uniform treatment and be segregated into classes according to age and past criminal record." It was also recognized by the legislators that women had to receive education and training. "Prisoners have heretofore been turned loose at the expiration of their sentences without any regard to their future and poorly, if at all, equipped to earn a livelihood.

This is so stupid a policy that it would not be tolerated were it not for the fact that it has a long tradition behind it. It should no longer be tolerated."²⁶

Today federal female offenders are resident at the following six facilities: Alderson, W. Va.; Fort Worth, Tex.; Terminal Island, Calif.; Morgantown, W. Va.,²⁷ Lexington, Ky.; and the West Coast Youth Center at Pleasanton, Calif. The first two are for females only, while the last four listed are for male and female residents. Co-correctional institutions, as they are called, are considered experimental in the federal system. The men and women have separate housing but share other activities, such as meals, education, and recreation. There has been some criticism that co-correctional institutions can lead to inadequate program facilities for women.

Part 6 of Standard 11.6²⁸ of the Criminal Justice Standards and Goals report makes the recommendation that if adequate facilities or programs for women are uneconomical for state correction agencies to finance, "every effort to find alternatives to imprisonment for them, including parole and local residential facilities," should be made. The report goes on to recommend in part 7, however, that: "As a 5-year objective, male and female institutions of adaptable design and comparative populations should be converted to co-educational facilities."²⁹ It was felt by the commission that a totally segregated institution helps to "contribute to maladaptive behavior," out of context with normal conditions of society and that positive, healthy relationships with the opposite sex can be developed in a coeducational situation. It is interesting to note that the phasing out of women from the Morgantown, W. Va., institution was based on the general feeling of the staff that "co-corrections was not working well with the homogeneous, younger-aged population there,"³⁰ while the Wisconsin Home for Women became a co-correctional facility in June of 1975.

In the state system, women serving sentences are residents of female-only institutions in 28 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. The other 24 states have women prisoners housed in facilities under the control of "wardens of male prisons."³¹ In all states, however, women must be segregated from the male population and at least five states have made this a statutory

requirement.³² Some jurisdictions without segregated facilities have made arrangements with neighboring states which do maintain separate institutions for women to "board" their female prisoners. Examples of such "boarding" arrangements are found in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont, all of which send their female felons to Massachusetts. Hawaii sends women sentenced to longer than two-year terms to institutions on the mainland, usually California.³³ This procedure establishes one disadvantage which the female offender must endure—namely, separation from her local environment, community ties, friends, and perhaps even her legal counsel. Male prisoners are usually not subjected to the same disadvantages since all states have at least one male institution.

Programs for all prisoners, such as educational, vocational, treatment, or guidance, are dependent upon the type or class of offender housed in an institution. The usual techniques for handling the male offender is to send him to an institution housing a similar category of offenders. This results in homogeneity and affects the programs, as well as security and administrative policies of the institution. In the total of 43 institutions in the federal prison system, there is an attempt to classify offenders, including women.³⁴ In the state systems, very few make any attempt to classify the female prisoner. Where the "cottage plan" is employed,³⁵ there has been some separation, although frequently this limited type of classification has no actual effect on the administration of the institution or its programs. Lack of classification may place the woman offender into a "school for crime" rather than a treatment center.

Women serving prison sentences are usually assigned to one or more of the following activities: industry, academic education, or vocational training. The prison industry programs are not primarily aimed at rehabilitation but rather profit for the institution and a source of income for the prisoner. The jobs to which women are assigned are not always useful training for the resident upon release. These work assignments may include "dead-end jobs like flag making, sewing uniforms for inmates and making mops, among others."³⁶ Often they are institutional housekeeping chores.

Academic education is important to the incarcerated women as statistics show that the average education of the woman offender is somewhere between 5th and 10th grades.³⁷ A recent survey indicated that at least 30 women's prisons provided academic programs through the high-school level.³⁸ The institutions for women alone usually have fewer teachers than those institutions for men only. The number of students per teacher, however, is less in women's prisons, which would seem to permit greater individual attention.³⁹ College-level training is offered in a few states and, where possible, local community facilities are utilized. The geographic remoteness of some women's institutions, however, may preclude this possibility.

A recent study, sponsored by the American Correctional Association, made suggestions concerning occupational programs for women offenders:

It is important that women offenders be trained in occupations which will command salaries sufficient to maintain themselves and their families, and that they be able to choose jobs in which they are interested and which offer opportunities for post-training placement.

In conjunction with this training and employment, it is essential that there be a full range of supportive services necessary both before and after release.⁴⁰

The study describes one experimental program, tested in Wisconsin, Arizona, and California and scheduled for implementation in Michigan, New York, Maryland, Florida, and Massachusetts.

Mutual Agreement Programming (MAP) establishes a legally binding contractual agreement between a resident, an institution representative, and a member of the local parole board. The agreement contains objectives for the resident to obtain based upon her individual strengths and weaknesses and includes as an incentive "a definite parole date contingent upon successful completion of the agreed goals and objectives."⁴¹ The resident participates in the designing phase of the negotiation and the objectives are specifically spelled out in terms of academic education, vocational training, discipline, and treatment. The institution agrees to provide specific programs to the inmate and the parole board agrees to release the offender on a specified date provided the goals are achieved. Expected performance is specified in terms of observable, measurable behavior. Revision, renegotiation, and arbitration pro-

visions are also included in the contract. The idea is to make the resident to a great extent responsible for her own release in terms of realistic goals set by herself with the guidance of the correctional staff. The experimental MAP program in California utilized another aspect of the system, the voucher. A voucher permits the participant to draw on funds specified under the contract to purchase training and education within the community, if that is where the most realistic, useful, and current education or training programs are available.

The Parole Corrections Project found the MAP program highly feasible in those states which participated in the experimental model, although there is not yet sufficient data available to comment on the success or failure of the program in terms of the resident's integration into the community upon release.

A systematic program of legal education and legal counseling in female institutions has been nonexistent. The 1971 Supreme Court decision⁴² and the recent interest in the plight of these women has led to the establishment of a few programs to meet this need. A clinical law program at New York University Law School developed a project of training in the use of legal materials as well as assisting in legal counseling at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility.⁴³ The Women's Detention Center in the District of Columbia also has a training program in using legal materials found in the center's law library collection.

Vocational training programs have been established in some institutions, yet most of these programs are not geared to preparing the woman for an occupation which would provide sufficient money, stability, or job security. Instead, the available training is aimed at the stereotyped woman's role in society. This role involves teaching women to cook, sew, launder, and clean. More advanced programs provide for clerical, cosmetology, key punching, or nurse's aide training. Male prisoners have a greater choice of programs, aimed at such higher paid occupations as auto repair, typewriter service, carpentry, and television repair. The causes of the inadequacies in the women-oriented programs are obvious. One cause is the general view of the woman as a wife and mother first and wage earner second. Another is the small number of female offenders,

which makes the cost of training per prisoner substantially higher for women than for their male counterparts. Still another cause is the general feeling that women are not dangerous threats to society and therefore large financial expenditures for their rehabilitation are unnecessary. The result is not surprising. Unprepared or ill-equipped to provide an adequate living for themselves and for their dependents (70-80 percent of the incarcerated females in a Pennsylvania study were the sole support of their children before entering prison),⁴⁴ the female offender is prone to return to highly lucrative, illegal activities requiring little or no skill.

One final problem of the confined women deserves comment. This problem is of severe magnitude as it involves children she has left on the outside or the fact that she is pregnant and will give birth to her child while still institutionalized. Provisions for the pregnant woman, in terms of medical attention or special diets, are not found in most prisons.⁴⁵ Legal abortions have not usually been permitted, although California has recently enacted a law⁴⁶ permitting inmates to receive abortions if they are not ineligible under the Therapeutic Abortion Act of that state. Mothers of children born in prison are strongly urged to give them up for adoption.⁴⁷ If not placed for adoption, the child is put in the custody of a relative or placed in a foster home. Minor children of a mother sentenced to prison may also be placed with close relatives, in a foster home, or in an institution by the courts. The woman prisoner is removed from the decision-making process regarding the welfare of her children. Once released, she may have to establish that she is a fit parent and is capable of caring for the child so that the courts will not deny her custody. Incarceration alone will not usually establish unfitness; however, acts which tend to show a lack of parental responsibility in the offender's past conduct—child abuse, neglect, desertion, adultery, or drunkenness—will.

Visits by children with an imprisoned mother are frequently not allowed and when they are permitted, they must visit through glass walls and physical contact is not allowed. If the visits take place in a more relaxed atmosphere, it is still far from normal and the fact that it is a prison is inescapable. If the mother is "boarded"

out, away from her home geographic area, she will very likely not see her child until she is released.

Both the mother and the child are affected by the mother's confinement. The rehabilitation of the confined mother may be linked to her maternal role and certainly the basic personality of the child may be affected by the separation. Very few American prisons make any provisions for inmate mothers to remain with their children during the child's formative first two or three years. California, however, has enacted a statute providing that a prisoner mother with a child under the age of two years may be permitted to retain that child with her until it reaches the age of two years.⁴³ There is no means for implementing this act in California even though such legislation recognized the impact of the separation on both the mother and the child. A male offender father as

well may suffer from the impact of such a separation, but he may well be able to adjust more readily than the woman. Visitation and custody rights of men, however, should not be overlooked in the area of equality of treatment.

Differences between men and women exist in the American criminal justice system ranging from sentencing to the correctional institution itself. Women offenders in prison have been characterized as the "forgotten population" and they are. The programs, facilities, and services available to the confined woman are areas of consideration nearly untouched by responsible officials.

The time has come for detailed studies and implementation of programs suited to these problems. As so well stated by Frances Heidensohn, "it is now time to look at the small residual population of women in prison to consider whether indeed prison is where they should be."⁴⁴

NOTES

¹ Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1973, p. 34.

² Ibid., p. 131.

³ Ibid., p. 126, table 28.

⁴ Leon Leiberg and William Parker, "Mutual Agreement Programs with Vouchers: An Alternative for Institutionalized Female Offenders," *American Journal of Correction* 37 (1975): 10, 11.

⁵ Daniel L. Skoler and Jane C. McKeown, *Women in Detention and Statewide Jail Standards* (Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association, Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services, 1974), p. 17.

⁶ Mark C. Clements, "Sex and Sentencing," *Southwestern Law Journal* 26 (1972): 890, 893-95.

⁷ Helen W. Rogers, "A Digest of Laws Establishing Reformatories for Women in the United States," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 8(1918): 518, 520.

⁸ Law of May 13, 1869, ch. 32, § 20, [1869] *Laws of Indiana* 61.

⁹ Md. Ann. Code art. 27, § 689(e) (1971).

¹⁰ Ibid., § 689(d) (1957).

¹¹ Me. Rev. Stat. Ann. tit. 34, §§ 802-854 (Supp. 1974).

¹² N.J. Stat. Ann. §§ 30:4-147, 30:4-148 (Supp. 1975).

¹³ Ibid., § 30:4-155 (1964).

¹⁴ 63 N.J. 287, 307 A.2d 78 (1973).

¹⁵ Pa. Stat. Ann. tit. 61, § 566 (1964); Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 17-360 (1958), now § 18-65 (Supp. 1974).

¹⁶ Commonwealth v. Daniels, 430 Pa. 642, 243 A.2d 400 (1968); U.S. ex rel. Robinson v. York, 281 F. Supp. 8 (D. Conn. 1968).

¹⁷ Eugenia Lekkerkerker, *Reformatories for Women in the United States* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1931), p. 92.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁹ Hearings on H.R. 2869, H.R. 685, and H.R. 4125 Before the House Comm. on the Judiciary, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., ser. 1 (1924), p. 19.

²⁰ U.S. Bureau of Prisons, "Female Offenders in the Federal Correctional System 4" (Washington: n.d.).

²¹ The comprehensive study of crime and corrections by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice which was published in 1967 contained no information on women. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals' publication on corrections in 1973 did devote 2½ pages to standards for "women in major institutions." The American Bar Association's Criminal Justice Section and its Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services is currently sponsoring a 6-month pilot project, the National Resource Center on Women Offenders, "dedicated to increasing public awareness of the problems of the woman offender and working on reform in her behalf."

²² National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Corrections* (1973): 379.

²³ Hearings on H.R. 2869, p. 12.

²⁴ Act of June 7, 1924, ch. 287, 43 Stat. 473.

²⁵ U.S. Bureau of Prisons, "Female Offenders," p. 5.

²⁶ H.R. Rep. No. 69, 68th Cong., 1st Sess. 2 (1924).

²⁷ Female residents are being phased out of the Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, W. Va.

²⁸ Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Corrections* (1973), p. 378.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *Women Offender Report* 1 (1975):4.

³¹ Linda R. Singer, "Women and the Correctional Process," *American Criminal Law Review* 11 (1973): 295, 300.

³² Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. Ch. 127, § 22 (1974); N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 622.33 (1974); N.M. Stat. Ann. § 40A-22-14 (1953); N.D. Cent. Code § 12-47-22 (1960); S.D. Code § 24-11-19 (1967). Oregon formerly had such a provision, however, it was omitted in 1973 by ch. 740 § 15 of the *Laws of Oregon*.

³³ Hawaii's policy of transferring women prisoners with minimum sentences of over two years to out-of-state facilities has been challenged in *Park v. Thompson*, 356 F. Supp. 783 (D. Hawaii 1973). The District Court noted on p. 789: "Plaintiff's discrimination, equal protection, and due process claims are not put forward solely for philosophical satisfaction but also because, she alleges, the result of the alleged violations, deprivations, and infringements of her rights is that the conditions and circumstances of her confinement have become more onerous. This is clearly habeas corpus country."

³⁴ The Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, W. Va., the Federal Correctional Institutions, Terminal Island, Calif., and Lexington, Ky., accept female adult felons 17 and over. The Federal Youth Center, Pleasanton, Calif., accepts females sentenced under the Youth Corrections Act and generally in the age range of 14-26.

³⁵ This is a prison design consisting of separate living units each housing 30-50 residents. Residents may be grouped in a cottage as first offenders, or according to length of sentences.

³⁶ Virginia A. McArthur, *From Convict to Citizen: Programs for the Woman Offender* (Washington: Commission on the Status of Women, 1974), p. 13.

³⁷ Edna Walker Chandler, *Women in Prison* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973), pp. 126-27.

³⁸ See footnote 79 in "The Sexual Segregation of American Prisons," *Yale Law Journal* 82 (1973): 1229, 1242.

³⁹ Leiberg and Parker, "Mutual Agreement Programs," pp. 11-12.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴¹ *Gilmore v. Lynch*, 404 U.S. 15 (1971).

⁴² Michele Hermann and Marilyn Haft, *Prisoners' Rights Sourcebook* (New York: Clark Boardman, 1973), pp. 349-52.

⁴³ Pennsylvania Division of the American Association of University Women, *Report on the Survey of 41 Pennsylvania County, Court and Correctional Services for Women and Girl Offenders, January 1, 1965 to December 31, 1966* (Philadelphia: 1969), p. 21.

⁴⁴ A recent California enactment provides that a prisoner is entitled to have her personal physician examine her to determine whether she is pregnant. "If the prisoner is found to be pregnant, she is entitled to a determination of the extent of the medical services needed by her and to the receipt of such services from the physician and surgeon of her choice." Cal. Penal Code § 3406 (West 1975).

⁴⁵ Cal. Penal Code § 3405 (West 1974).

⁴⁶ Gisela Konopka, *The Adolescent Girl in Conflict* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 22-23.

⁴⁷ "The Prisoner-Mother and Her Child," *Capital University Law Review* 1 (1972):127, 139.

⁴⁸ "Prison for Women," *Howard Journal of Penology and Crime Prevention* 12 (1969):281.

WOMAN

[♀]
in Sports

by Milton Kaplan



38
The Stormer Bicycle. Lithograph by Strobridge Lith. Co. 1896. LC-USZ62-29633.

39
Bending Her Beau! Lithograph by Currier & Ives. 1880. LC-USZ62-17673.

40
Rower. Lithograph by Knapp & Co. 1889. LC-USZ62-54599.

41
[Skating] Cover for *Vanity Fair*, January 1916. LC-USZ62-45907.

42
[Her First Tee] Watercolor by William T. Smedley for "Colonel Bogie, a Golf Story," by Gustav Kobbe, in *Harper's Weekly*, July 31, 1897. LC-USZ62-15735.

43
Lawn Tennis. Lithograph by L. Prang & Co. of painting by Henry Sandham. 1887. LC-USZ62-1244.





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41



42



43

The Feminine Presence

Women's Papers in the

by Anita Lonnies Nolen

In the last few years women's history has become an increasingly popular topic for historical inquiry. The narrow view of women's history as being largely confined to the agitation for suffrage in the 19th and early 20th centuries has been displaced. Stimulated by the increasing demand for equal rights, historians have recognized the need for examining the full extent of women's activities. That these activities have covered as broad a spectrum as life itself is clearly reflected by the women's papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

In time, the women represented by these collections of papers include those who wore voluminous petticoats, those who lived during the era of pantaloons, and those who have made pantsuits a part of their wardrobe. The variety of manuscripts provides source materials not only for the study of specific women's movements, but also for many other topics of inquiry.

In any comprehensive study of women's activities, the long struggle for suffrage occupies a primary place. The Manuscript Division holds many significant collections concerning this movement. The Carrie Chapman Catt papers, the Blackwell family papers, and the records of the National American Woman Suffrage Association form a nucleus of source material. In Mrs. Catt's papers (9,500 items), correspondence and subject files for the years 1890-1920 reveal her efforts to obtain the vote for women, diaries for 1911-12 describe her travel abroad on behalf of women's suffrage, and speeches and articles deal broadly with women's rights. Her correspondents include Alice Stone Blackwell, Ida Husted Harper, Clara Hyde, Maud Wood Park, and Rosika Schwimmer.

The Blackwell family collection (29,000 items) contains papers of Elizabeth Blackwell, Alice Stone

Blackwell, and Lucy Stone, all of whom were strong advocates of women's suffrage. Elizabeth Blackwell's diaries, correspondence, speeches, and writings document her struggle to become a doctor and to open the medical profession to women in the United States. She received letters from Lady Byron and Florence Nightingale, who supported her medical work abroad. Glimpses of her life and work in England, where she settled after 1869, are provided in the correspondence of her adopted daughter, Kitty Barry Blackwell. The papers of Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry Brown Blackwell, who shared her views on women's suffrage, include correspondence with Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as well as speeches and articles on women's rights. She was also an active abolitionist who corresponded with William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah Grimké, and Wendell Phillips. In the papers of Alice Stone Blackwell are diaries, subject files relating especially to suffrage organizations, and correspondence with Susan B. Anthony, Catherine Breshkovsky, and Carrie Chapman Catt. Other Blackwells represented by bodies of papers within the family collection are Antoinette Louisa Brown Blackwell and Emily Blackwell.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association was formed in 1890 by a merger of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association, both founded in 1869. The organization's records (26,700 items) include correspondence with such early women's rights leaders as Florence Kelley, Mary A. Livermore, Lucretia Mott, Anna Howard Shaw, and Emma Willard, as well as with Ida Husted Harper, Belle Case La Follette, Maud Wood Park, and Jeannette Rankin, who were active in the later years of the crusade. An ex-

Manuscript Division

tensive subject file contains information on suffrage workers, progress reports from state and local organizations, and antisuffrage literature.

In addition to these three major collections, the Manuscript Division holds the papers of other suffrage leaders and organizations. Susan B. Anthony's diaries, 1856-1906, contain brief comments on her lecture tours on behalf of women's suffrage and references to such associates as Lucy Stone, Amelia Bloomer, and Lucretia Mott. Her correspondence, addresses, scrapbooks, and pamphlets also relate to the suffrage movement, as do the letters, speeches, and other materials in the scrapbooks of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her daughter Harriot Stanton Blatch. A picture of the suffrage movement on the local level emerges in the papers of Olivia Bigelow Hall, who organized meetings in her hometown of Ann Arbor, Mich., and obtained speakers for rallies there. She corresponded with Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, and Carrie Chapman Catt, as well as with the American Equal Rights Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association.

In the National Woman's Party records, 1912-20, are reports and proceedings of committees and conventions and correspondence relating to state and local organizations, political issues, and the *Suffragist*, which cumulatively reflect the party's activities during the final push to obtain the ballot for women.

A precursor of the woman suffrage movement was the abolitionist cause. In striving to free the slaves, women became more fully aware of limitations on their own rights. The papers of Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910) and Anna E. Dickinson (1842-1932) reflect their concern with both abolition and women's rights. Mrs. Howe's career as author, lecturer, and reformer is documented in about 1,500 items of correspondence,

articles, lectures, sermons, and notes pertaining to abolition, suffrage, religion, education, and a variety of other topics. Miss Dickinson's papers, numbering some 8,500 items, include legal papers, speeches, plays, and correspondence with Henry Ward Beecher, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Susan B. Anthony, Fanny Davenport Price, Frederick Douglass, and Whitelaw Reid.

As suffrage came closer to fruition, the suffragists became involved in other reform movements. In the Progressive era, Belle Case La Follette, wife of Robert M. La Follette, wrote and spoke on behalf of women's suffrage, civil rights, child labor legislation, disarmament, and the post-World War I peace movement. Included in the 72 containers of her papers, a part of the La Follette family collection, are subject files, speeches, writings, and correspondence with Jane Addams, Elizabeth G. Evans, Vinnie Ream Hoxie, and Emma Wold. Also in the family collection are the papers of Belle's daughter, Fola, suffragette, teacher, and actress; the papers, about 13,000 items, are primarily concerned with the biography, *Robert M. La Follette* (1953), by Belle and Fola La Follette.

As a suffragette, Anna Kelton Wiley (1877-1964) was arrested and jailed for picketing the White House in 1917. In the District of Columbia, she was an active member of the National Woman's Party, Women's City Club, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Housekeeper's Alliance, National Council of Women, and District of Columbia Citizens' Association. As her voluminous papers (110,000 items) reveal, she

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worked for consumer protection, improved child care, and the equal rights amendment.

The papers of Agnes E. Meyer (1887-1970) include approximately 70,000 items and document her life as a social worker, literary and art critic, linguist, and author. Her diary, beginning in 1917, provides an incisive commentary on life in the nation's capital during the 1920's when her husband Eugene was in government service and their home was a social center of Washington. Correspondence, including exchanges with such persons as John and Roberta Dewey, Thomas and Katia Mann, Virginia Gildersleeve, Adrienne Koch, Esther Peterson, Marietta Tree, and Edward Steichen, drafts of speeches, articles, and books, notes, and other materials reveal her enormous energy and wide interests. She wrote about oriental art, served on the Westchester County (N.Y.) Recreation Commission and the President's Commission on the Status of Women, and worked for the establishment of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The nearly 250,000 items of correspondence, speeches, printed matter, and other materials in the papers of Cornelia Bryce Pinchot (1881-1960) pertain in part to her work on behalf of women's suffrage and her affiliation with the National Women's Trade Union League. The career of Mabel Thorp Boardman (1853-1945) as an official of the American National Red Cross is the focus of a collection of approximately 4,000 items.

The League of Women Voters was created in 1919 by the Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The League distributed information on candidates and issues in elections, encouraged people to vote, and lobbied for legislation on national, state, and local levels. Its records (ca. 535,000 items) include correspondence, reports, surveys, and printed matter originated by the state and local organizations, papers exchanged between the local leagues and national headquarters, and minutes of conventions, board meetings, open conferences, and committees on the national level. Although these materials touch on virtually all areas of public concern, they manifest the League's special interest in working conditions for women and children, child welfare in general, education, the legal status of women, and the

need for laws to protect their rights. The correspondents of national prominence include Carrie Chapman Catt, Alice Hamilton, Katharine Ludington, Florence Kelley, Maud Wood Park, Belle Sherwin, and Marguerite Wells.

Closely related to the activities of the League of Women Voters were the projects undertaken by the National Consumers League, an organization founded in 1899 for the purpose of improving the lot of women and children through public action. Although the National Consumers League developed local affiliates, its records (68,000 items) pertain primarily to the national organization, 1920-50. They include minutes, reports, financial papers, copies of the writings of many League leaders, materials assembled for specific projects, and correspondence with such persons as Grace Abbott, Elizabeth Brandeis, Newton D. Baker, Mary Dewson, Felix Frankfurter, Florence Kelley, Alice Hamilton, Esther Peterson, Frances Perkins, Josephine Roche, and Florence Wyckoff. The League fostered legislation pertaining to child labor, women in industry, labor unions, civil rights, and social welfare.

The records of the National Women's Trade Union League of America also document the fight for improved working conditions for women in industry and for their right to organize and bargain collectively. Founded in Boston in 1903, the League continued its activities until 1950. In its later years, it lobbied for legislation in such areas as civil rights, social security, and federal aid to education. Included in the records (8,000 items) are headquarters files; proceedings of conventions, 1909-47, and of the International Congresses of Working Women of 1919, 1921, and 1923; and correspondence with members of Congress and with such eminent women as Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Mary Anderson, Rose Schneiderman, and Frances Perkins.

The records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, numbering over 1 million items dating from 1909 to the present, include correspondence and other papers of many women as well as materials relating to the National Woman's Party and women's suffrage. Particularly important are the correspondence, memoranda, speeches, articles, and diaries of Mary White Ovington, who served as an officer of the NAACP's New York City branch, national secretary, 1911-12, and chairman of the

board, 1919-32. Other significant correspondents include Mary McLeod Bethune, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Addie W. Hunton, Daisy Lampkin, Florence Kelley, and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Among the member organizations of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, founded in 1949 to lobby for the enactment and enforcement of civil rights legislation on the national level, were the National Council of Negro Women, the

League of Women Voters, and the National Organization for Women. The 24,000 items in the conference's records include correspondence with such persons as Coretta King, Patricia Roberts Harris, and Esther Peterson, speeches, financial records, clippings, and printed materials, which together illustrate the techniques used by the conference in its efforts to achieve "full equality for all Americans."

The seal of the National Women's Trade Union League, drawn by Julia Bracken Wendt.



* * *

In addition to the above major collections revealing women's exertions in behalf of social reforms, especially suffrage, the Manuscript Division holds numerous related bodies of papers, large and small, of women who often found ways of combining their interests in reform with their vocations.

Myrtilla Miner's correspondence suggests the nature of the problems she encountered in the development and operation of the school for free Negro girls that she founded in the District of Columbia in 1851. A small collection of papers of Mary Tyler Peabody Mann (1806-1887) includes correspondence discussing educational



Clara Barton in 1904. Photograph by J. E. Purdy, Boston. Prints and Photographs Division.

theory and teaching methods with Domingo Sarmiento, President of Argentina.

Harriet Ward Foote Hawley and Anna Laurens Dawes were both involved in philanthropic endeavors. Mrs. Hawley's papers, numbering about 300 items, relate to her activities as organizer and president of the Washington Auxiliary of the Women's National Indian Association from 1882 until her death in 1886. Correspondence of Anna L. Dawes pertaining to Indian mission interests and to her work with Mrs. Hawley's organization can be found in the papers of her father, Senator Henry Laurens Dawes. Anna Dawes also corresponded at length with the New England local colorist, Sarah Orne Jewett.

The papers of Maria Kraus-Boelté concern her work as a pioneer in the development of kindergarten education early in the 20th century. The collection includes notes and workbooks kept by Alice Hirsch while being trained as a teacher in the Kraus-Boelté method.

A large collection of papers of the Breckinridge family of Kentucky includes the papers of women who were active in a variety of pursuits over many generations. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge's papers, 1896-1948, document her career as professor and first dean of the University of Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy (later the School of Social Service Administration). Included in the approximately 10,000 items is correspondence with Grace Abbott and Jane Addams as well as material relating to the Immigrants Protective League and the American Association of Schools of Social Work. The papers of Issa Desha Breckinridge, whose husband, William C. P. Breckinridge (1837-1904), was a lawyer and newspaper editor in Lexington, Ky., and a member of Congress, relate mainly to family and social affairs during and after the Civil War. Life as a society editor, social leader, and lecturer on women's rights and child welfare, 1877-1925, is reflected in the papers of Madeline McDowell Breckinridge. Curry Desha Breckinridge, a daughter of Issa and William C. P. Breckinridge, is represented by a small collection concerned primarily with her work as a nurse overseas during World War I. Correspondence, journals, and other materials for the years 1911-65 are included in the papers of Mary Breckinridge, founder and director of the Frontier Nursing Service and editor of its *Quarterly Bulletin*.

The need for persons to care for the sick and wounded during the Civil War enlarged the opportunities for women in the nursing profession. Clara Barton solicited and distributed supplies to Union Army soldiers. Her papers, numbering some 70,000 items for the years 1834-1912, include correspondence, manuscripts of articles, books, and lectures, and scrapbooks documenting her work on the battlefields and in the founding of the American Red Cross. Susan B. Anthony, Harriet Austin, Leonora B. Halsted, Mary S. Logan, Mary Norton, and Frances E. Willard are among her correspondents. Letters to physician Esther H. Hawks relate to her career with her husband J. Milton Hawks, also a physician; they

cared for the wounded during the Civil War and later distributed supplies throughout the South for the National Freedmen's Relief Association. Some papers of Sara Iredell Fleetwood, a member of the Nurses Examining Board of the District of Columbia, are included in the papers of her husband, Christian A. Fleetwood, a free Negro who served three years in the Union Army. The career of Mary Ann Ball Bickerdyke, a nurse and an agent of the Sanitary Commission, is reflected in approximately 2,000 items of correspondence and financial papers.

Anita Newcomb McGee served as an acting assistant surgeon in the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War and was later superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps. Her diaries, correspondence, notes, and articles incorporate information about her medical career, her an-

thropological studies, and her role in the formation of the Women's Anthropological Society of America.

Like nursing, missionary service provided opportunities for women in the 19th century. Fidelia Church Coan, along with her husband Titus, served as a missionary in Hawaii from 1834 until 1872. The Coan papers include correspondence between Fidelia and her sister, Maria Church Robinson, a missionary in Siam for a decade prior to 1847. The Coans also communicated with missionary societies in America which supported their work and with such persons as Hiram Bingham, Sophie Madeleine DuPont (Mrs. Samuel Francis DuPont), and Mary and Sarah Oliphant. Materials concerning Ellen Stone, a missionary held captive in Turkey, 1901-2, are in the Charles Monroe Dickinson papers.

* * *

As more women began to work outside the home, they became involved in a greater variety of occupations. The papers of Jeannette Ridlon Picard (b. 1895) in the Picard family collection show her accomplishments in ballooning as well as her interests in religion and education. A related collection is that of aviation pioneer Marjorie Stinson. Margaret H. Sanger (1883-1967), trained in science and medicine, embarked on a career devoted to persuading the general public to accept and practice birth control. Her papers, consisting of over 100,000 items, describe her work with the American Birth Control League, which she founded, the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Among her correspondents were Havelock Ellis and Françoise deLisle.

Mary French Sheldon, although educated as a physician, became an explorer and writer, traveling to Africa in the 1890's to study women and children in a primitive society. Her papers incorporate information on Belgium, the Belgian Congo, and Africa in general, and include manuscripts, scrapbooks, and correspondence with Henry Morton Stanley. A collection of about 3,000 items, consisting of correspondence, writings, notes, and printed matter, relates to Mira Lloyd Dock's work as a forester and city planner

in Pennsylvania, 1901-30. The papers of sociologist Helen Merrell Lynd include correspondence, notes, research materials, and manuscript drafts of the cultural studies *Middletown* (1929) and *Middletown in Transition* (1937), on which she collaborated with her husband.

Doris Fleischman Bernays chose a career as a public relations counsel. Her correspondence, manuscript drafts, galleys, and research notes, relating primarily to her book *Careers for Women*, first published in 1928, and to her many speeches and articles, are in the papers of her husband Edward L. Bernays.

Two notable women are represented in the Reid family papers. Helen Rogers Reid, daughter-in-law of Whitelaw Reid, held several positions on the staff of the *New York Herald-Tribune* before becoming president of the company in 1947. Her correspondence, financial papers, subject files, speeches, and articles reveal her devotion to the success of the newspaper as well as her interest in woman suffrage and her activities on behalf of Barnard College and the President's Commission on the Status of Women. She corresponded with Irita Van Doren, Fanny Fern Fitzwater, Joseph Alsop, Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, and other members of the newspaper's staff, as well as with leaders of both major political parties,

THE WOMEN

A scene following the scene at the Hendersons in Act
I *continuing*
THE PURCHASE COUNTER AT SAAS

THE PERFORMANCE COUNTER AT SALES

Custosma

~~Cosmetics~~ The ~~cosmetics~~ counter is crowded; there is a ~~push~~ sale going on. "Summer Rain", the much discussed perfume which Stephen Haines had given his wife for a birthday present and which had been the means of his meeting Crystal (ironically enough) being sold at the ~~bargain~~ ^{big} bargain ~~bar~~. The group around the counter consists of ladies of various sizes, shapes, dimensions, 'poms and circumstances', all fiddling, snooping, and sampling the cosmetic counter's wares. This scene was originally planned to introduce two important characters later to appear in the play - Miriam Arons and the Countess de Lage, ~~they were~~ two of the customers. The Countess, of course, is buying a bottle of the prohibitively expensive "turtle-gland cream" for \$15, a bottle of gold eye-mist, etc. etc. - a collection of exotic cosmetics which would do nothing except make her look more ~~gaunt~~ than she already is. Miriam's purchases show that she is a show-girl. They jostle each other, ~~speak~~, speak... They do not, however, ~~say~~ anything. ^{about} ~~about~~ ^{about} juice. ^{Shan} ^{blue} ^{green} ^{pink} ^{Sage,}

The day... or
the girls behind
the counter
expressed to
me

Two of the girls behind the counter are discussing Crystal, their colleague; they are living in not altogether flattering times. They find Crystal high-hat, uncommunicative, etc. They predict that she is at any moment going to be bounced from her job because having led the floor-walker on, she is now giving him the "go-by," and they speculate about Crystal's boy-friend. They agree that it is probably some rich man outside their world, and if they had any doubts on the subject Crystal dispelled them by constantly implying that she is headed for the role of a Park Avenue lady some day. The girls console themselves by insisting to each other that she will probably be just a "kept woman" and that they are after all, decent girls.

shallow,
blue
gland
masculine,
purple
glandular

Rutting
begin etc.

menthe
propre

~~Inter this scene comes MARY, overcome by an insurmountable desire to see with her own eyes the girl who is supposed to be "living with" her husband. Dry-eyed, tense still, and a little dazed, she shuttles back and forth at the counter, being jostled by MIRIAM and the COUNTESS) pretends to look at possible purchases but in reality examining the faces of the girls minutely... She sees one of them that she sees is Crystal or if one of them is, she has no need to be afraid whom She sees CRYSTAL waiting on the UGLY GIRL and she intuitively knows that this is her rival. She edges her way down the counter in order to overhear the conversation between Crystal and the Ugly Girl.~~

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a foolish,
dangerous

- A suspension link
Crystal telephone graph
Sistered by

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Salv

including all the Presidents from Coolidge to Eisenhower. Helen Rogers Reid's letters to her mother-in-law, Elisabeth Mills Reid, contain descriptions of day-to-day newspaper operations in addition to comments on members of the *Herald-Tribune* staff and on prominent public figures. Elisabeth Mills Reid's papers also relate to her many philanthropic enterprises, especially the Red Cross and the Nurses' Training School at Bellevue Hospital in New York, and reflect her life as a member of a prominent, wealthy family.

Journalism was also the profession of Bess Furman, a correspondent covering the Washington political scene from the 1920's to the 1960's, first for the Associated Press and later for the *New York Times*. Diaries, correspondence, subject files, notes, and manuscripts relate to women in public life, occupants of the White House, the Office of War Information, the Women's National Press Club, and numerous events in the Capital. Among her correspondents were Grace Abbott, Ruth Bryan, James A. Farley, and Harold Ickes.

Roles in politics and government attracted a number of women. The Manuscript Division holds large collections of the papers of Clare Boothe Luce and Katie S. Louchheim. The approximately 200,000 items in the former's papers focus on her career as author and playwright during the 1930's and 1940's and on her public career after 1950 as a Congresswoman and diplomat. For the earlier period there is a large file of manuscripts of her articles and plays in addition to correspondence concerning her literary activities. Later correspondence with such persons as Pearl Buck, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Eleanor Roosevelt, and other political figures is a valuable source for her views on foreign policy, nuclear arms, domestic programs, and presidential politics.

The 27,000 items in the papers of Mrs. Louchheim pertain mainly to her work as director of women's activities for the Democratic National Committee during the 1950's and as deputy assistant secretary of state for cultural and educational affairs in the 1960's. Correspondence and

family papers complement large subject files covering a variety of topics, including the activities of leading black women, seminars for European women, and the exchange of Soviet and American women, and showing her involvement with the Women's National Press Club and the Federal Women's Award Program.

In the Hanna-McCormick family collection are the papers of Ruth Hanna McCormick, who served as chairman of the Women's National Executive Committee of the Republican party before she ran for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1928 and in the Senate in 1930. Correspondence with field workers and state and local political leaders during her congressional campaigns and constituent mail during her term as Congresswoman from Illinois, 1929-31, constitute the major portion of her collection. Later material shows her reaction to the depression and her efforts to promote the political career of Thomas E. Dewey.

Other women who distinguished themselves through careers in public service are represented by smaller collections. Florence Ellinwood Allen, as an associate justice of the Ohio Supreme Court, 1922-34, was the first woman to sit on an American court of last resort. She also served (1934-66) on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th circuit. Some 2,700 items of her correspondence, subject files, speeches, and articles are primarily concerned with her career as a judge but also pertain to the women's rights movement, in which she was an active participant. She corresponded with Lady Astor, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Margaret Chase Smith. The papers of Marion Glass Banister, assistant treasurer of the United States, 1933-51, consist mainly of personal correspondence for that period but also include letters relating to the Democratic National Committee.

Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954), first president of the National Association of Colored Women, was an author, educator, and agitator for civil rights. One of the first women to be appointed to the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, she served in that capacity for 11 years between 1895 and 1911. She served as chairman of the Coordination Committee for the Enforcement of the D.C. Anti-Discrimination Laws that challenged the legality of segregated restaurants in Washington; in 1953 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that such segregation was

A manuscript page with author's revisions from The Women, by Clare Boothe Luce. Used by permission. Clare Boothe Luce papers.

invalid. Her papers, numbering some 14,000 items, consist primarily of correspondence, drafts of her articles, speeches, short stories, and poems, and a handwritten draft and a typescript of her autobiography, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940). Jane Addams, Mary McLeod Bethune, Carrie Chapman Catt, Ruth Hanna McCormick, and Booker T. Washington were among her correspondents.

The career of Florence Jaffray Harriman as U.S. minister to Norway, 1937–41, is documented in about 9,000 items of correspondence,

speeches, articles, and printed matter; the collection also relates to her activities as a member of the Federal Industrial Relations Commission, 1913–16, and the American Federation of Labor Committee on Women in Industry, 1917–19. The early career of Oveta Culp Hobby, first Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is reflected in approximately 2,200 items, 1941–52, pertaining to her work as chief of the women's interest section of the War Department Bureau of Public Relations, 1941–42, and director of the Women's Army Corps, 1942–45.

* * *

Women were early accepted in the field of drama, both as actresses and playwrights. Charlotte Saunders Cushman (1816–1876), an American actress who won fame in Europe, is represented in the Manuscript Division by a 10,000-item collection of correspondence, poetry, playbills, notebooks, and scrapbooks. Correspondence of Frances Anne ("Fanny") Kemble (1809–1893), actress and author, can be found in a small collection of her own as well as in the papers of her grandson Owen Wister. The Wister papers also include letters from Henry James to Sarah Butler Wister, Owen Wister's mother and Fanny Kemble's daughter, who wrote anonymously for the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The theatrical career of Jean Margaret Davenport Lander is documented in a series of scrapbooks, some containing correspondence, covering her activities in England and the United States from 1836 to 1869. A small collection of the papers of Laura Keene, who performed at Ford's Theatre the night Lincoln was assassinated, spans the period 1858–76, and about 100 letters of actress Julia Marlowe (1866–1950) are in the papers of Charles Edward Russell.

The career of Minnie Maddern Fiske is detailed in approximately 18,000 items for the years 1884–1932; included in the collection is correspondence with such persons as Gertrude Atherton, Florence Kelley, and Helena Modjeska, as well as promptbooks, financial papers, scrapbooks, and manuscripts of speeches, articles, and plays.

One of the pioneers in the media of motion pictures was Lillian Gish, whose papers, 1920–70, consist primarily of synopses of silent films, motion picture and television scenarios, and scripts of plays. Among the scripts of productions in which she appeared are those for the motion picture *Night of the Hunter*, the television dramatization of *Arsenic and Old Lace*, and the plays *Nine Pine Street* and *Uncle Vanya*. Also in the papers are nearly 400 letters she received concerning her work for the America First Committee.

Margaret Webster (1905–1972) was a director, producer, and actress. In her papers are annotated texts of plays, stage directions, sketches of stage settings, and lighting cues, as well as candid letters to her mother about her life in the theater. A related collection, that of Hume Cronyn and his wife Jessica Tandy, includes correspondence, scripts, production notes, stage directions, and playbills for the years 1934–60 and provides a rich source for the study of Miss Tandy's career in films, on stage, and in television.

The papers, 1924–69, of Ruth Gordon concern her dual careers as actress and playwright. Drafts of scripts and screenplays reflecting the evolution of a work from its original to its final form and correspondence about various productions in which she was involved constitute a prominent portion of the collection, which also includes correspondence, primarily after 1940, with Edna Ferber, Vivien Leigh, Anita Loos, and other authors and actresses.

* * *



MRS. FISKE.

Mary of Magdala.

Minnie Maddern Fiske in the 1902 play Mary of Magdala, by Paul Heyse. Poster designed by Ernest Haskell. Prints and Photographs Division.

Literature, photography, and sculpture were fields of accomplishment for a number of women whose papers are in the Manuscript Division. The papers of novelist Constance Cary (Mrs. Burton N.) Harrison (1843-1920), in the Burton N. Harrison family collection, consist largely of correspondence, notes on tours to Europe, and manuscripts of writings, including her autobiography *Recollections Grave and Gay* (1911). A small collection of the papers of Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte Southworth (1819-1899) is limited for the most part to family correspondence during the last decade of her life, after she had ceased writing novels.

Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814), poet, dramatist, and historian, is represented by an autograph manuscript of her three-volume work *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution* (1805). Considered significant because it was one of the first accounts written by a native-born American, the book aroused controversy between the author and John Adams, who protested that statements made about him were unjust.

Mary Simmerson (Mrs. John A.) Logan gained recognition as editor of a woman's periodical, *The Home Magazine*. Her correspondence, scrapbooks, and manuscripts of speeches, articles, books, and poems form a part of the John A. Logan family collection and concern her civic and political activities as well as her efforts as a writer and editor. She worked hard, especially after her husband's death in 1886, remaining indifferent to the warning she had received in a letter from C. A. Logan on November 27, 1881: "I have to add this also—that you are approaching a time of life when great changes take place in the female system; when it is necessary to carefully keep away tendencies to congestion of the brain, which are always imminent when natural discharges cease."

Gertrude B. Lane came into the editorial field a few decades later at the helm of *Woman's Home Companion*. Correspondents in her collection of about 200 letters, 1915-35, include Josephus Daniels, Edna Ferber, and Herbert Hoover. The papers of Irita Van Doren reveal her successful career as literary editor of the *New York Herald-Tribune* from 1926 to 1963. Included is correspondence with such authors as

Willa Cather, Ellen Glasgow, Edna Ferber, Sinclair Lewis, Freda Kirchwey, and Dorothy Thompson, concerning their preparation of articles and book reviews, as well as original manuscripts of speeches, articles, poems, and book reviews by various authors. Mrs. Van Doren also served as a member of the editorial board of the *American Scholar* during the 1940's and 1950's, and many of her letters are in the records of that publication, along with correspondence of Babette Deutsch, Katharine Kellock, Helen M. Lynd, Phyllis McGinley, Margaret Mead, and Marjorie Hope Nicholson.

The papers of Peter and Catherine Marshall relate, in part, to Mrs. Marshall's activities as an author and lecturer. Although much of the collection concerns her book *A Man Called Peter* (1952) and the motion picture based on it, other books as well as articles are represented by original manuscripts and corrected copies of proofs.

Students of literary method will find the papers of Shirley Jackson (1919-1965) and Marcia Davenport especially useful. Known primarily for her short stories, Shirley Jackson saved manuscripts, typescripts, and printed galleys of her stories, articles, and books, together with diaries, notebooks, and correspondence. Mrs. Davenport accumulated notes, drafts, and galleys of eight of her books and a series of letters from her editor Maxwell Perkins, including a 10-page letter relating to revisions of her book *East Side, West Side* (1947).

Among the important poets whose papers are in the Manuscript Division is Edna St. Vincent Millay. Her diary-notebooks, 1908-50, contain early versions of poems in addition to diary entries. Some of the poems, as well as letters, essays, and other materials, relate to government and civil liberties, the rise of totalitarianism in the 1930's, and controversial issues of World War II.

Other writers are represented by small collections composed principally of manuscripts of their works. The papers of Gertrude Franklin Atherton (1857-1948) include the manuscripts of three of her numerous novels in addition to a small amount of correspondence. The approximately 2,000 items comprising the papers of Margaret Landon include the draft, final version, and galley of her book *Anna and the King of*

Siam (1945). Manuscripts, galleys, and page proofs of *The Steep Descent* (1944) are the principal components of Anne Morrow Lindbergh's papers. Helen Keller (1880-1968) is represented by correspondence, clippings, Braille material, and manuscripts of her writings; the papers of Catherine Drinker Bowen (1897-1973) consist primarily of manuscripts of several of her books.

Notes and correspondence of Jeannette Paddock Nichols relating to her biography of Nelson W. Aldrich are in the Aldrich collection. June Bingham's research materials on Reinhold Niebuhr are in the Niebuhr papers; she is also represented by a small collection of her own papers.

The papers, 1885-1953, of Frances Benjamin Johnston provide rich resources for a study of her professional life as both author and photographer. One of the first to recognize the potential of shade and texture in photography as art, she began as a photographer of national figures and events and served as official White House photographer during the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. She then turned to garden photography, illustrating the articles she wrote with her own photographs. Ultimately she became known for her photographic studies of colonial architecture in the southern states. Correspondence, memoranda, articles, notes, and other materials in more than 30 containers reveal her relationship with prominent people and her role in the development of photographic art in America. Complementary to her manuscript collection is a large collection of her photographs in the Library's Prints and Photographs Division.

Sculptress Vinnie Ream Hoxie was perhaps best known for her statue of Abraham Lincoln that stands in the Capitol Rotunda. Her diaries, notes, and correspondence, including letters from Albert Pike, William T. Sherman, and many Congressmen, relate primarily to her career during the post-Civil War years.

Adelaide McFayden Johnson's career as sculptress and feminist is reflected in approximately 30,000 items for the period 1875-1945. Included in the collection are her diaries, speeches, articles, notes about sittings, and correspondence with such suffrage leaders as Susan B. Anthony, Ida Husted Harper, Emmaline Pankhurst, and Alice Paul.

* * *



Self-portrait of Frances Benjamin Johnston in her studio, about 1896. Apparently the cigarette, beer stein, and exposed petticoat were symbols of rebellion against traditional ideas of ladylike behavior. Prints and Photographs Division.

I will procure some ~~high~~ stockings for the boys
 I could have been almost angry with William - tho so
 handomely supplied with clothes, do you think he put
 them on, I but went to commencement in those he wore
 down which he said were proper enough for common use
 but when he had others & with him, to go into so much
 company and so dust, it mortified me - but children
 want consideration - I send my little wife a book
 I did not send it until I thought it, there is no harm
 in it, many useful hymns, but some which I do not
 expect to or approve of - I will never consent to have
 our sex considered in an inferior point of light, All
 each planet shine in their own orbit, God and nature
 designed it so - if man is Lord, woman is Ladefor -
 that is what I contend for, and if a woman does not hold
 the reigns of government, I see no reason off for her
 not judging how they are conducted - when you read the
 book you will easily know the part alluded to -
 I am my dear
 sister with love and affection ever yours

to miss pinner a kind remembrance, and to John whose turn to commencement
¹⁰⁴ will be next year - At Adams

On July 19, 1799, Abigail Adams wrote to her sister: "I will never consent to have our sex considered in an inferior point of light. let each planet shine in their own orbit. God and nature designd it so. if man is Lord, woman is Lordess.—that is what I contend for. and if a woman does not hold the reigns of government, I see no reason for her not judging how they are conducted." Elizabeth S. Shaw family papers.

The papers of many women are important not because they pursued careers but because they were keen observers. Letters written by Abigail Adams to her sister Elizabeth Shaw constitute a substantial portion of the papers of the Shaw family. Mrs. Adams describes her travels in England, France, Philadelphia, and New York; her concern for her family suggests the spirit of togetherness that pervaded the Adams home in Massachusetts. The viewpoint of a Loyalist during the Revolution is revealed in the letters of Grace Growden Galloway in the small collection of the papers of her husband Joseph. After her husband and her daughter Elizabeth fled to England in 1778, Mrs. Galloway remained in Philadelphia in a vain attempt to save the family property. In her letters she records her day-to-day experiences, including the ultimate seizure of the property and vandalization of the home during the riots following Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown.

Descriptions of the social and political life of Washington during the early 19th century can be found in the papers of Margaret Bayard Smith (1778–1844). As a society leader in the new capital and wife of Samuel Harrison Smith, editor of the *National Intelligencer* and an official of the Bank of the United States, she had an excellent opportunity to observe people and events. Her letters show a keen mind and provide an incisive record of Washington society. The diaries of Anna Maria Thornton, whose husband William Thornton was an architect and superintendent of patents, also depict social conditions in Washington during the years 1793–1860. Virginia Woodbury Fox, wife of naval officer and assistant secretary of the navy Gustavus Vasa Fox, kept a diary containing material of social and political interest for the period 1856–76. This volume, along with some of her correspondence, is located in the Levi Woodbury papers.

Other women kept journals while traveling or residing abroad. Harriet Low, whose journal is in the papers of the Low-Mills family, recorded her visit to China, 1829–34, at a time when America's contact with the Far East was minuscule. She later married John Hillard, and papers of their daughter Mary Hillard Loines are also in the collection. The papers of Charles Rollin Buckalew contain a one-volume diary kept by his wife Permelia Stevens Wadsworth Buckalew in 1859 during his tenure as U.S. minister to Ecuador.

An Englishwoman's view of the United States is recorded in the letters written by Margaret Hall in 1827–28 while she was on a tour with her husband Basil and their small daughter. A member of Britain's upper class, Mrs. Hall characterized Americans as lacking in social grace but conceded that "with all their want of polish and refinement they are not vulgar. It appears that want of leisure is what prevents them from becoming polished, they are so constantly hard at work with real business that they have not time to think of the little minor things that constitute refinement." (Letter to her sister, Jane Guthrie, May 16, 1827.) Throughout the Halls' journey, which took them overland through the South to New Orleans and then up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers by steamboat on their way back to New York, Mrs. Hall wrote not only of the people, their customs, characteristics, and dress, but also of the living conditions, the countryside, and the variety of conveyances and accommodations they encountered.

Observations of the contemporary scene in England by the wife of the U.S. minister at London from 1845 to 1849 are found in the papers of Elizabeth Davis Bancroft, which are included in the Bancroft-Bliss family collection. In addition to her correspondence with her sons, there are letters concerning her activities from persons both in England and on the continent.

Most of the post-1850 letters in the papers of George Watterson, third Librarian of Congress, editor, and Washington resident, are to his daughter Eliza from numerous admirers, including John Howard Payne and James Buchanan, who suggest, in various ways, that as a woman she was a delicate creature who should not engage in strenuous pursuits of any kind, physical or intellectual. "You were very valiant to set out

I have often attempted to write to My ever Dearest Daughter; but have been as often restrained by a Nameless something, that over powers My Reason & has caused Me Many uneasy moments. I should be sorry to be ranked Amongst the Superstitious, but often sometimes cannot Account for certain impulsive urges, that at different times invades y Human Mind, perhaps Mind by affliction of Heath Nerves, May become weaker than usual, & this as it's may: I have one reason that may plead My excuse'd the want of Care in that unfortunate letter I sent by West however even here I could clear myself. Major West came in just as I was going to seal My Letter & as I did not then know how to direct it to you, he desired Me to Direct it to Another & he would seal it & inclose it to your Lawyer if he could not deliver it himself. I thought him a man of honour, but I was mistaken. What ill consequences it could have been quite at a loss to find out, I ought to have been inform'd that I may have clear'd it for him. This at first prevented Me from writing, but a more tender Motive has long since restrain'd Me; I am not satisfied with just letting you know y state of My health. My soul longs for a more intellectual Correspondence with my only child.

I am still in Philadelphia, as My ill state of Health last June would not permit me to take a journey to New York. I sent a Petition to the council & with y interest of Mr Thomas Barclay & Doctor Jones's affidavit, I have been permitted to remain in peace; as I never have directly or indirectly done or been charged with doing any thing Inimical to the States. I never disputed a Man or Dishonorable Action, & as a Woman I have nothing to do but to bear My Cross of fortune with patience, & you may depend upon it that your Mother will never despond to do any thing that may be decent & mean. She has no connections with Politicks on any side, nor is there a person that ever suggested Me of so base an action.

My ill state of health has prevented Me even the exercise of walking, for more than twelve months, & I grow very old long before the time for y infirmities of old Age. if I had common sense I stay would soon to dying & protract Myself for a better world, but such is y propensity make Mortals have to Deserstation, that I fear it will be long before I shall be what I wish. I see no prospect of My ever being happy in this life, even hope the fond delusion of y married is almost fled, & yet to be My Husband y Child once more in health & happy is the summit of my almost wishes.

The things you send are arrived, but how or when I shall get them is uncertain you could send nothing Amis: as I have bought no cloathes since you went away I wanted a Winter Cloath very much, the Gloves & Stockins fits very well. I thank you my dear for your care of me & I value every thing that comes from you as Holy Reliquies Value their choicest Relicks, & had I kept those things & with part my Philosophy at a stand, had my furniture been left Me I may have been induced to keep House, but all Furniture is so very high Price the Utensals in particular that no common people can afford to buy them. Nor do I think they will be low as usual for many years, & we have lost all

Your last Letter gave Me pleasure because you appeared in good spirits but I wish to know how you live, I hope in y^r way you like it but cannot say
 Due creation to Distinguish between the fluctuating Joycious & Lips of y^r substantial
 & al good which flows from a multitude of Manners Virtues & Religion alone
 can give us peace of Mind, of Manke we bear all y^r ills of life with a Calmness
 & composed Disposition, which y^r world with all its Allurements can never
 Conquer that you will Act with prudence I make no Doubt & I know
 Your judgement is too good y^r your Mind to much improved to be Deceived by
 Extrernal. That God May Direct You y^r prosper your health in the constant
 Wish of My heart but I must leave off or I shall be Much Moved, y^r Name
 I have only to give My best y^r fondest love & affections to My only Child
 You without any Reserve ever Most Affectionate Mother

Philadelphia November 5th

G G

29 Give My best Love to
 your Dappa. Please say
 her best Service to you & like her
 misfry nothing will be unacceptable
 Adieu My Dear & pray write soon

Because her letters had to be smuggled out of America, Grace Growden Galloway, a Loyalist, was often forced to write in a tiny hand on scraps of paper which could be concealed by the messenger. This relatively lengthy letter is reproduced in nearly actual size. Joseph Galloway papers.

alone without anybody in pants to look after the Baggage," wrote one of her frequent correspondents, Maj. J. C. Pattridge of New York, on January 19, 1851. In an earlier letter written September 8, 1849, he had said, "I am pleased to find you are devoting yourself to religion—nothing becomes a woman so much as religious devotion."

The Rodgers family collection includes the papers of Minerva Denison Rodgers, whose letters to her children and to her husband Commodore John Rodgers when he was at sea describe social life in Washington, D.C., where the Rodgers lived during the commodore's years of service on the Navy Board of Commissioners, 1815-38. Letters of a granddaughter, Minerva Macomb Peters, also in the family papers, recount the difficulties she encountered in adjusting to frontier life in Wyoming, where she and her husband settled after their marriage in 1881. In the 1890's she wrote letters from Plauen,

Saxony, Germany, where her husband held a post in the U.S. consular service..

Life in Batopilas, Mexico, in the 1880's is recorded by Mary Grice Young Shepherd in her diary, a part of the papers of her husband Alexander Robey Shepherd (territorial governor of the District of Columbia, 1873-74), who owned part interest in a silver mine there. A quite different style of life in the same decade is delineated by May Marcy McClellan, daughter of Gen. George B. McClellan. In diaries in her father's papers, she details the life of a fashionable young woman living in New York and Washington, D.C. Letters addressed to Appoline Alexander Blair, wife of Francis Preston Blair, Jr., by General McClellan in 1863 are in the papers of the Francis Preston Blair family. The Charles Ewing family papers include correspondence of Virginia L. M. Ewing. A few papers of Varina Howell Davis, first lady of the Confederacy, can be found in a small collection of Jefferson Davis papers.

Approximately 3,000 letters between Harriet Elizabeth Freeman and Edward Everett Hale (1822-1909), Unitarian clergyman and author of *The Man Without a Country*, are in the Hale family papers. Miss Freeman's letters reveal the

life of a financially independent single woman who read, studied, traveled, and for 30 years exchanged love letters with the Reverend Mr. Hale, a married man far older than she.

The papers of William Orr include articles written jointly by him and his wife Charlotte Evelyn Pettis Orr, pertaining for the most part to their travels in Eastern Europe during the early 20th century. In the Carl William Ackerman papers are diaries kept by his wife Mabel VanderHoof Ackerman during the years 1932-54, as well as letters she wrote to her family, 1915-17, describing the life of an American correspondent in Europe during World War I. Letters received by Abby Chapman Aldrich, in the papers of her husband Nelson W. Aldrich, give impressions of European society and culture during the late 1800's.

The diaries of Elizabeth Steele Wright and Louisa A. Withee detail their lives during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Mrs. Wright began her diary in 1846 and wrote of her life in Wisconsin and travel in the Midwest and West until 1912. For almost 30 years, Louisa Withee, a resident of LaCrosse, Wis., made intermittent entries in her diaries, kept notebooks of recipes

and accounts, and accumulated occasional clippings, memoranda, and correspondence.

Significant for delineation of the social and political scene during the 20th century are the papers of Evalyn Walsh McLean and Belle Willard Roosevelt. Numbering some 45,000 items, Mrs. McLean's papers include social correspondence reflecting her widely known hospitality as well as her relationship to persons connected with the Teapot Dome scandal of 1924. Among her correspondents are Bernard Baruch, William C. Bullitt, Harry M. Daugherty, J. Edgar Hoover, Elsa Maxwell, Harry Truman, and Darryl Zanuck. Also in the collection are papers of her father Thomas F. Walsh (1851-1910), a mine owner and mining engineer in Colorado.

Kermit Roosevelt's wife Belle was primarily concerned with management of the couple's various households and coordination of their social responsibilities. Her papers, a part of the Kermit Roosevelt family collection, reveal the lifestyle of an upper class family during the first half of the 20th century. Materials dated after 1943 relate principally to the Kermit Roosevelt Memorial Lectures, an exchange program between the United States and Great Britain.

* * *

Also significant are the Manuscript Division's holdings of papers of women who served as mistresses of the White House. The most voluminous of these are the papers of Lucretia Rudolph Garfield. Beginning well before the accession of her husband James A. Garfield to the Presidency in 1881, the collection of more than 55,000 items chronicles her life through 1918. Diaries, drafts of speeches, financial papers, scrapbooks, and correspondence with such diverse persons as Sarah Polk, James G. Blaine, Rebecca Selleck, and Frances Burnett reflect her varied interests in art, literature, civic and political affairs, women's rights, and the preservation of the record of her husband's career. Many letters from her are also in the papers of her husband and of her sons Harry A. Garfield and James R. Garfield.

Covering primarily the years after 1925, the papers of Edith Bolling Wilson (1872-1961) reflect her social life as President Wilson's widow. Included in the approximately 19,000 items are

correspondence with such political leaders as Newton D. Baker, Josephus Daniels, and Adlai Stevenson and with the wives of all the Presidents from Taft to Johnson, as well as the manuscript of Mrs. Wilson's autobiography *My Memoir* (1938) and biographical material relating to President Wilson.

Dolley Payne Madison, noted for her friendliness, charm, and tact, was a Washington hostess from 1801, when her husband James Madison became Secretary of State, until her death in 1849. She served as White House hostess for Thomas Jefferson as well as for her husband. Her papers, numbering almost 3,000 items for the period 1797-1851, consist mainly of family correspondence but also include letters from eminent people. Angelica Singleton Van Buren, hostess for her father-in-law Martin Van Buren, is represented by a volume of letters to her family.

Papers of a few First Ladies are included in the papers of other people. Sarah Childress

Polk's papers, contained in three volumes in the papers of her husband James K. Polk, pertain mainly to the management of her plantation in Mississippi after his death in 1849. Numerous letters from the plantation's overseer kept her abreast of events there, and communications from an agent in New Orleans apprised her of the cotton market and the value of her produce. The papers of Harriet Lane Johnston, White House hostess for her uncle James Buchanan, form a part of his collection and relate primarily to ladies' fashions and social affairs, 1855-56, before Buchanan's Presidency. Correspondence of Emily Tennessee Donelson, including letters written during the years she served as White House hostess for Andrew Jackson, forms a part of the papers of her husband Andrew Jackson Donelson.

Closely related to the First Ladies' collections are the papers of Edith Benham Helm and Victoria Henrietta Nesbitt, both of whom were on the White House staff during the 1930's and 1940's. Mrs. Helm served as social secretary to both Eleanor Roosevelt and Bess Truman, and her papers, numbering more than 10,000 items, relate primarily to her concern with White House social functions. Also included, however, are a few scrapbooks, notes, and letters relating to President Wilson's trips to Europe for the Paris Peace Conference, 1918-19, and memoirs concerning the resignation of Robert Lansing as Wilson's Secretary of State and a visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the United States.

Approximately 4,500 items constitute the papers of Mrs. Nesbitt, housekeeper for the Franklin D. Roosevelts. Included in the collec-

tion are calendars of President Roosevelt's appointments, menus, recipes, memoranda of entertainments, correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Nesbitt's diaries, and manuscripts and proofs of her books *White House Diary* (1948) and *The Presidential Cookbook* (1951).

It has been impossible to mention here all the women's papers in the Manuscript Division. Some large collections of the papers of prominent women have not been named, and in addition to those identified in this brief survey, there are in many collections significant bodies of letters written by women to husbands, relatives, or friends. Furthermore, almost every collection of letters in the division includes some letters written by or to women. Similarly, in almost every collection are materials relating to issues in which women were involved or incidents in which they participated.

Complementary to the papers in the Manuscript Division are the books, pamphlets, journals, newspapers, government documents, prints, photographs, music, and recordings in other divisions of the Library.

The manuscripts, however, have a special value, as was pointed out almost a quarter century ago by Louise M. Young in her article entitled "The Records of the League of Women Voters" (*Quarterly Journal*, February 1951): "The papers offer an admirable counterweight to the age-old imbalance which has made history a lopsided record concerned mainly with the deeds of men. The presence of women on the stage of public life is acknowledged but their impact has yet to be weighed."

Perhaps we are beginning to rectify that imbalance.

WOMAN

in Advertising

by Milton Kaplan



44

The Pride of Oregon Old Bourbon. Lithograph by G. T. Brown & Co. 1871. LC-USZ62-12429.

45

Granulated 7 O'clock Breakfast Coffee. Lithograph by Britton, Rey & Co. 1876. LC-USZ62-16777.

46

The Best in the Market. Lithograph by Currier & Ives. 1880. LC-USZ62-19533.

47

The Quality of Rob Roy. Lithograph by Julius Bien & Company. 1895. LC-USZ62-20485.



46



45



47

WOMAN

in Advertising

48

Dobbins' Medicated Toilet Soap. Lithograph by J. Haehnlen. 1869. LC-USZ62-12432.

49

Domestic Sewing Machine. Lithograph by W. J. Morgan & Co. 1882. LC-USZ62-38598.

50

Dobbins' Vegetable Hair Renewer. Woodcut by Ringwalt & Brown. 1870. LC-USZ62-12861.

51

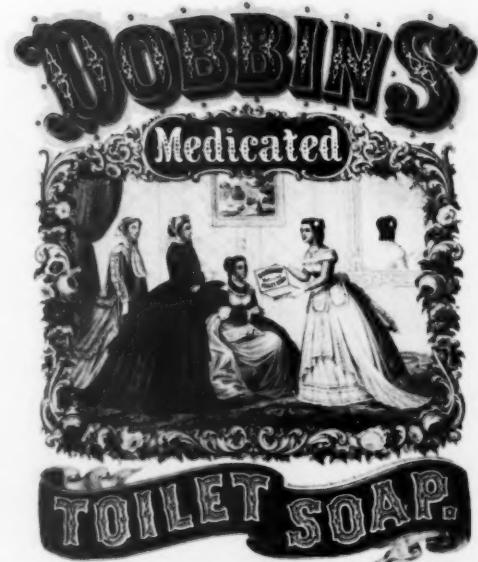
Thomson's Glove-Fitting Corsets. Lithograph by The Graphic Co. 1874. LC-USZ62-54597.

52

Lenox Soap Lathers Freely in Hard Water. Lithograph by the Strobridge Litho. Co. 1898. LC-USZ62-28613.

53

Home Washing Machine & Wringer. Lithograph. 1869. LC-USZ62-2589.



48



49

50



GLOVE-FITTING CORSETS

NAME COPYRIGHTED.

51



52



**DEPOT 24 CORTLANDT ST., NEW YORK.
DEPOT, 13 BARCLAY ST., NEW YORK.**

53

Sir,

Washington March 26th 1815.

I have had the happiness to receive the committee
of Librarians with which you con so good as to honor me.
I accept it with pleasure & tender you my thanks for
the favour con ferred. You will be intrusted on your
moments of leisure & relaxation, I nevertheless deem it
my duty to apprise you that, according to an abstract
before, you are Director to an department to be
immediately selected for a Library room &c. In
the 3rd story of the present Cap. or a room sufficiently com-
modious & convenient might, at a small expense be
prepared. & this could immediately be done, by autho-
rizing the Commissioners of the public buildings, or the
Superintendent of the City, to have it prepared without
delay. I would suggest the propriety of having the book
shipped by water to the City as more safe & expen-
sive.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect & esteem,
Your affe son't -
Geo. Waterston

His Excellency
President of the U.S.
C. " "

In his letter to President Madison accepting the ap-
pointment as Librarian, Waterston waste no time in
voicing the first of his numerous appeals for adequate
Library facilities. James Madison papers, Manuscript
Division.



George Watterston

Advocate of the National Library

by William Matheson

Steady employment was not a conspicuous feature of the careers of the earliest Librarians of Congress. Patrick Magruder resigned his office on January 28, 1815, in the face of charges that he had neglected his duty.¹ His successor, George Watterston, served from March 21, 1815, until his partisan involvement in politics brought his term to an abrupt end on May 28, 1829. Unlike his predecessors, Watterston did not have to contend with dual duties as Clerk of the House and Librarian of Congress. The first holder of the office to be able to devote full time to his duties, he is sometimes called the first Librarian of Congress.

George Watterston was controversial throughout his tenure—critical (even of the Congressmen he served), thin-skinned, outspoken, and strongly partisan. His wide interests frequently took time away from his library duties and left him open to criticism. Though the records surviving from this early period in the Library's history are fragmentary, the tone of the man is consistent throughout these fragments. He was a man of contradictions—unlovable in many ways, but with close family ties; venomous to his enemies (of which he had an imposing number), but loyal to his friends; possessing the predispo-

sition of a dilettante but capable of significant accomplishment. The Library of Congress in the years he spent in office had an equally contradictory history. Although Watterston served without even one budgeted assistant for 13 of his 15 years in the Library, he faced many of the problems which, in enormously magnified form, continue to be central concerns to this day.

The basic source of information on Watterston's career, and indeed on all aspects of the Library's early history, is William Dawson Johnston's 1904 *History of the Library of Congress*.² In writing his book Johnston leaned heavily on the Watterston papers, which were presented to the Library by David Watterston in 1901. The papers, which consist of three bound volumes of letters and memoranda and two small manuscript volumes, are central to any consideration of Watterston's life and career but frustratingly incomplete. Since the publication of Johnston's *History*, a few additional pieces of information have come to light. They seem to indicate that Watterston's hold on his position was at all times more tenuous than Johnston's account suggests

William Matheson is chief of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

and his personality more abrasive. Anne Royall's description of Watterston in her *Sketches* presents him as a more serene and gentle man than other evidence supports:

Mr. W. is a man of good size, neither spare nor robust; he is a fine figure, and possessed of some personal beauty; his complexion fair, his countenance striking, shows genius and deep penetration, marked with gravity, though manly and commanding. A sweet serenity diffuses itself over his countenance, which no accident can ruffle; and under the veil of retiring modesty, discovers his blushing honors thick upon him.⁵

This is quite a tribute from a woman known better for a sharp tongue than for flattering descriptions. Her saying a few sentences before that "he does not appear to be over twenty-five at this time" (he was, in fact, 41) leads me to doubt her powers of observation.

In *The Story Up to Now* David Mearns provides the following characterization of Watterston:

[He] was not a person graciously to receive guidance nor was he thick-skinned enough to accept rebuke without deep and vituperative resentment. It may be that his was the most treacherous of attributes: a sense of superiority.⁶

There are many evidences of Watterston's sense of superiority and resulting bitterness. In *Wanderer in Washington* he puts feelings, which are surely his, in the mouth of a character:

Because I am but a scribe, and a scribe makes a very small figure in the estimation of a member of congress or his lady. We of the quill are apt to be considered as animals of a different race, as belonging to the class *vermes*, that crawl in obscurity, and are only fit to be trampled on.⁶

By the end of his life Watterston was one of the few inhabitants of Washington who had known the city in its earliest days. In his "Reminiscences of the Metropolis" in the *National Intelligencer*, December 13, 1852, he gives the reader "these reminiscences, supposing that they may be interesting . . . , as the recollections of one now, I believe, with two others, the only inhabitants of Washington in 1793."⁶

He was born on October 23, 1783, on a ship in New York Harbor, the son of a Scotch immigrant, David Watterston, by profession a master builder. His father moved to Washington in 1791, attracted by the building opportunities in the developing federal city. Watterston later remembered witnessing the laying of the corner-

stone of the Capitol by Washington on September 18, 1793. He was sent to Charlotte Hall School, in St. Marys County, Md., and spoke of the school in laudatory terms in a reminiscence, "Twenty Years After," in the *National Intelligencer* for August 17, 1825. Unfortunately there is little that is personal in the piece, which is more of a puff for the seminary than an account of his school days. He began to practice law in Hagerstown, Md., but was not destined for a legal career. His experiences as a lawyer left a bitter taste in his mouth and from his first book, *The Lawyer; or, Man As He Ought Not to Be*,⁷ published anonymously, he "never missed an opportunity in any of his books to make a derogatory remark about the law and lawyers. . . ."⁸ An inheritance from a rich uncle gave him an opportunity to get away for a time, and he visited Jamaica where he kept a journal (in the Watterston papers) and wrote the separately published poem, *The Wanderer in Jamaica*. Following his return he briefly became a law partner of John Law in Washington, married Maria Shanley, and established his residence on Capitol Hill where he remained until his death.⁹

As a young man he also published the novel *Glencarn; or, The Disappointments of Youth* (1810); a play, *The Child of Feeling* (1809); and another poem, *The Scenes of Youth* (1813).¹⁰

James Madison appointed George Watterston Librarian of Congress on March 21, 1815. There have been various reasons advanced for the appointment, none of them certain. Watterston had dedicated his poem, *The Wanderer in Jamaica*, to Dolley Madison in 1810 in the following terms: "Madam, I have presumed to address this poetical effusion to you, from the reputation you have acquired of being desirous to promote the cause of general literature."¹¹ Some commentators have surmised that this dedication to his wife may have led Madison to favor Watterston.

Although Watterston in 1826 told W. C. Bradley that Madison "voluntarily offered" the position to him,¹² Watterston had written to the President about at least one other position, "collector of this District," in 1813.¹³ Probably Madison's recognition of Watterston's literary accomplishments was the deciding factor. In 1815 his novels, play, and poems had established



Watercolor portrait of George Watterston, attributed to Thomas Birch of Philadelphia, 1811. Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

(4)

Sir

Monticello May 7. 15.

I have duly received your favor of Apr. 26. in which you are pleased to ask my opinion on the subject of the arrangement of libraries. I shall communicate with pleasure what occurs to me on it. two methods offer themselves. The one alphabetical, the other according to the subject of the book. The former is very satisfactory, because of the medley it presents to the mind, the difficulty sometimes of recollecting an author's name, and the greater difficulty, where the name is not given of selecting the word in the title which shall determine it's alphabetical place. The arrangement according to subject is far preferable, altho' sometimes presenting difficulty also, for it is often doubtful to what particular subject a book should be ascribed. This is remarkably the case with books of travels, which often blend together the geography, natural history, civil history, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, arts, occupations, manners &c. of a country, so as to render it difficult to say to which they chiefly relate. Others again are polygraphical in their nature, as Encyclopedias, Magazines &c. yet on the whole I have preferred arrangement according to subject; because of the peculiar satisfaction, when we wish to consider a particular one, of seeing at a glance the books which have been written on it, and selecting those from which we expect most readily the information we seek. on this principle the arrangement of my library was formed, and I took the basis of its distribution from Dr. Bacon's table of science, modifying it to the changes in scientific pronuncie which have taken place since his time, and to the greater or less extent of reading in the several sciences which I professed to myself. Thus the law having been my profession, and politics the occupation to which the circumstances of the times in which I have lived called my particular attention, my provision of books on these lines, and in those most nearly connected

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Mr. Watterston

First page of Jefferson's letter to Watterston "on the subject of the arrangement of libraries." Thomas Jefferson papers, Manuscript Division.

him as Washington's leading (and for all practical purposes, only) literary figure. Knowing what we do of his subsequent career, we can guess that he was already involved in the political activities which became such a prominent part of his life. An awareness of his usefulness to the Whig party is a feature of an 1818 contretemps which will be discussed later. Two years before his appointment as Librarian, Watterston had become editor of the *Washington City Gazette*, which had been established by William Elliot to support the Republican party.

The imminent arrival of the 6,000-plus volumes in the library of Thomas Jefferson was the specific occasion for Madison's "recess appointment" of a new Librarian. On hearing that the fledgling Library of Congress (approximately 3,000 volumes in size) had been destroyed by the British when they burned the Capitol on August 24, 1814, Jefferson offered his considerably larger collection to the Joint Committee on the Library on September 21, 1814.¹⁴ The details of the purchase of the Jefferson collection are better documented than any other aspect of the Library's early history. Though the negotiations are of great interest, they precede Watterston's appointment by some months and are fully reported in Johnston's *History*. The purchase had major implications for the future growth of the Library. Undoubtedly the importance of the collection and Magruder's unfortunate experience suggested to Madison the wisdom of having the appointee serve only in a single capacity. This idea had been advanced as early as September 24, 1814, by the bookseller Joseph Milligan in a letter to Thomas Jefferson in which he noted that the "place of Librarian would be well to be a distinct office from the Clerk of the House of Representatives."¹⁵

One of Watterston's first jobs was to oversee the installation of the Jefferson library in the attic of Blodget's Hotel, located at the corner of 7th and E Streets NW., a considerable distance from the burned Capitol. Though the building had never served as a hotel, this was one of the few functions it failed to be used for in this period: in 1815 it housed both Houses of Congress, the congressional committees, the Library of Congress, the General and City Post Offices, and the Patent Office. Although Watterston later took credit for moving the collection three

times during his term in office, his actual physical involvement in this first move is left up in the air by Joseph Milligan's July 31, 1815, letter to Jefferson: "The Library . . . was safely laid into the passages of the General Post office of Congress Hall [Blodget's Hotel]. About three weeks ago I commenced unpacking it, and accomplished it last Monday."¹⁶ Whoever unpacked the books had his job greatly simplified by Jefferson's sending his collection in the pine fixtures used to house them at Monticello and in the classified arrangement he had devised.

As one of his early actions, Watterston wrote to Jefferson on April 26, 1815, asking for his opinion, "as a gentleman of literary taste," on the best way to arrange the books.¹⁷ "Your long acquaintance with books & your literary habits have, doubtless, led you to the adoption of some plan of arrangement with respect to libraries, which I should be happy, if you would communicate." Jefferson obliged on May 7, 1815, with an explanation of his classification, which was based on Francis Bacon's table of science, broken down into 44 "chapters" of knowledge.

To Watterston fell the job of creating a printed catalog of the Jefferson collection. His resulting effort, *Catalogue of the Library of the United States*,¹⁸ the work of several months and based on Jefferson's manuscript catalog, was received a little reservedly by Jefferson, who thought the arrangement less scientific than his own, and very coldly by the Joint Committee on the Library, which found it too scientific and had nothing good to say about it. When asked how he liked the arrangement within the chapters, Jefferson replied, "Of course, you know, not so well as my own," but then went on to see some possible advantages to readers.¹⁹ Watterston had alphabetized the books within chapters, rather than using the subdivisions "sometimes analytical, sometimes chronological, & sometimes a combination of both" which Jefferson had devised.

The printed Joint Library Committee report of January 26, 1816, can hardly have raised Watterston's spirits. He was taken to task for the arrangement:

This form of catalogue is much less useful in the present state of our library, consisting chiefly of miscellanies, not always to be classed correctly under any particular head, than a plain catalogue in the form which had been adopted for the formation of the catalogue of the old library. . . .

The committee's principal objection was the cost, \$1,356.50, "one third more than the annual appropriation made heretofore by Congress for the additional increase of the library, and more than one twentieth of the actual cost of our whole library." Elsewhere in the report the committee considered additional compensation for the Librarian for services already performed but concluded that many of the duties had been performed by people Watterston hired (and paid out of his own pocket), and made the following assessment of his expertise:

The manner in which the scientific part of the duties, devolving upon the librarian, has been fulfilled, do not, in the opinion of your committee, warrant the allowing of an additional compensation, which your committee suppose must be interpreted as conveying on the part of Congress, something like an approbation of past conduct. The only evidence of the literary services of the librarian, within the knowledge of your committee, is the publication of the catalogue which we were presented at the time of the beginning of the session; and the merit of his work is altogether due to Mr. Jefferson, and not to the librarian of Congress.

Despite the cool tone of the remarks, the committee recommended an increase in the Librarian's salary for future services to \$1,000 per year. The arrangement which Watterston adopted, a modification of Jefferson's classification, was also used in the first substantial supplement to the *Catalogue*, published in 1827, and continued to be used by the Library of Congress for the rest of the century.

In telling Jefferson about the committee's reaction to the *Catalogue* on January 29, 1816, Watterston gave little sign of being chastened by their strictures. Instead the letter has the superior tone which we hear again and again throughout his life: "The Library Committee are dissatisfied with me for having the catalogue printed, without having waited to consult their *superior judgment* [his italics]. . ." ²⁰

From our perspective Watterston's attempts during his first two years in office to establish the Library as the national library, comprehensive in its collections rather than limited to the needs of Congress, are admirable, though at the time they were controversial. On July 31, 1815, shortly after Watterston's appointment, the *National Intelligencer* carried an article on national libraries in other countries and observed that the example should be instituted and "the Congres-

sional or National library of the United States become the great repository of the literature of the world. . ." Watterston's influence is almost certainly there. On September 15, 1815, he inserted a notice in the *National Intelligencer* in which reference again is made to the "great national repository of literature and science" and in which he calls for "American Authors, Engravers, and Painters . . . [to] transmit to the Library . . . such work as they may design for the public eye. . ." In addition, Watterston's title for the 1815 *Catalogue*, referring ambitiously to the "Library of the United States," also emphasized a national rather than strictly congressional responsibility.

On January 9, 1817, the Senate passed a bill which embodied the idea Watterston had advanced in the *National Intelligencer* on the deposit of books, engravings, etc. The bill read:

That the Joint Library Committee . . . be authorized to make, from time to time, a selection of such books as they may deem proper to have deposited in the Congressional Library, out of the books which by the existing laws are to be deposited by the authors or publishers in the office of the Secretary of State, and are now lodged in the Patent Office.

This forward-looking idea, later embodied in the copyright deposit regulations, failed to become a law. Johnston speculates that the only reason Congress failed to pass the bill (and another bill increasing the appropriation for the purchase of books from \$1,000 to \$1,500 per year) was that the committee had on hand an unexpended balance of \$1,526.61 for the purchase of books.

On February 18, 1817, Eligius Fromentin of the Joint Library Committee reported a resolution calling for a separate building for the Library. Watterston lamented the defeat of this proposition in an article in the March 25, 1817, *National Intelligencer*, noting that "in all other countries, this is an object of national pride. . ." Knowing what we do of the attic quarters the Library was then occupying in Blodget's Hotel, we may smile at his suggesting as the standard for the United States the "elegant and splendid design for a national library at Paris," with "an immense gallery of 266 feet long by 47 breadth, and 6 vast halls. . ." Still, there is no denying that he took positive steps to put his points across and that he spoke up on numerous occasions in behalf of his ideas.

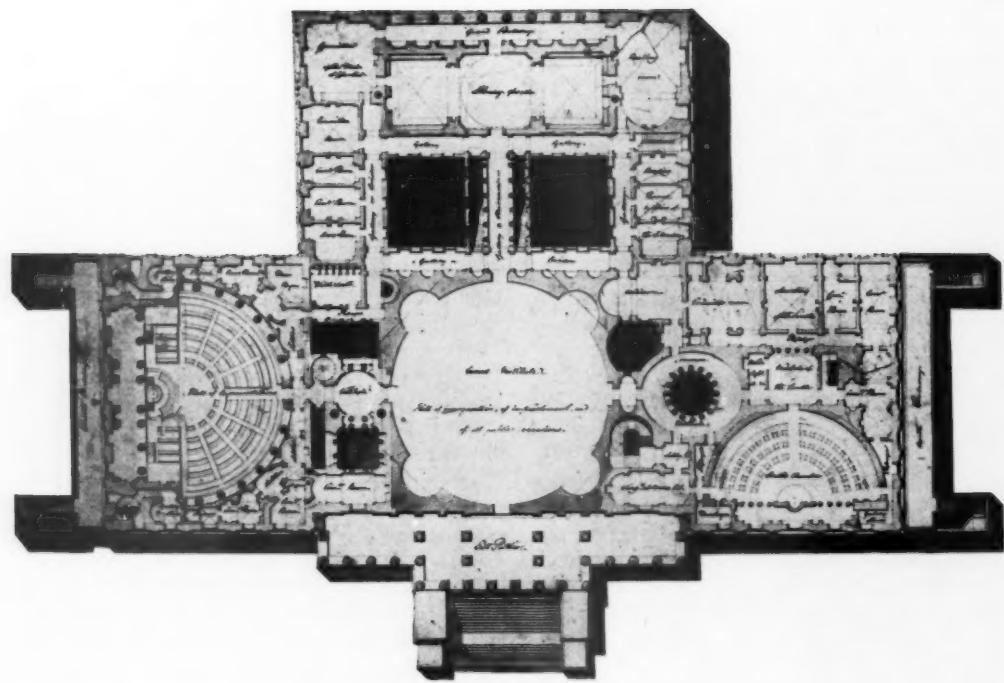
While Johnston accepts the importance of Watterston's efforts to promote the Library, David Mearns makes rather light of their impact. Refuting the assumption that the title of the 1815 *Catalogue* signaled official acceptance of the national library concept, he points out that the catalog was prepared and issued during the absence of Congress from Washington, the Joint Committee on the Library was not consulted, the committee disavowed the makeup of the catalog, and the title of the catalog has not since been used.²¹ However, even if we acknowledge that Watterston was not supported by the Joint Committee in his concept of the Library, this takes nothing away from him. Though he was unable to effect the changes he sought (as was the Joint Committee in most of the areas in which it made proposals), Watterston kept to the idea of a larger function for the Library, was a pioneer in that respect, and deserves full credit for his efforts. In a two-year span, 1815-17, ideas were advanced which could have changed the history of the institution, had they been adopted.

Despite his labors, by 1818 Watterston was in serious trouble with the Joint Committee. In a December 29, 1818, letter to President Monroe, Senator Jonathan Roberts says, "I have learned today with equal surprize and regret that exertions are [urged] at this moment among the members of Congress to recommend Mr. Walsh to you for librarian to the removal of Mr. Waterston [sic]." He continues a few lines later: "In the first session after his appointment I had to oppose the most villainous combination form'd in the joint committee against him." After picturing the "small but comfortable house" Watterston had recently purchased on credit and the "wife & several small children" dependent upon him he speaks of his "diligence & obliging assiduity." Next he characterizes Watterston as a scholar and man of taste, with "good moral character and uniformly Republican principles." The clinching argument is the point about Republican principles: "I know his pen has been efficiently employed in the Republican cause while Mr. Walsh was understood to have been assailing it with much violence." He returns to the same theme in a P.S.: "I may add on the subject of the librarian that I believe Mr. W-n could two signatures in Congress & ten among the citizens for one Mr. Walsh could."²²

Roberts' pleas, or other factors of which we have no evidence, were successful, for Watterston remained in office for 11 more, occasionally shaky, years. In the same month (December 1818) the Library moved to another attic, this time in the north wing of the Capitol, in rooms on the west side, on the same elevation as the upper gallery of the Senate Chamber.

After the promising beginnings, the six years the Library occupied the attic of the partially rebuilt Capitol can only be called an anticlimax. Johnston calls this the Garret Period in the Library's history. Frances Wright D'Arusmont, one of many travelers who visited Washington in this period, comments on "the national library, which a native of England now feels awkward at finding bestowed in a few small apartments; at present it comprises little more than the collection supplied by Mr. Jefferson. . . ."²³ Watterston in his *L. . . Family at Washington* has one of his characters visit the Library, which "consists of a suit of rooms, where I met a man that I thought looked devilish sour at me: this was the librarian."²⁴ In truth Watterston had little to look happy about. The Joint Library Committee's printed report (December 19, 1820) reveals that no considerable purchases had been made because the Librarian has informed them that "no preparations were making, or expected to be made, before the meeting of Congress, for putting up additional shelves in the library rooms, and that a large portion of the books purchased during the last year were still lying upon the tables. . . ." These arrearages understandably discouraged the committee and expenditures for the Library remained low. However, the \$2,000 set up for the purchase of books on April 11, 1820, represented the first separate annual appropriation for this purpose.

Watterston met Jefferson for the first and apparently only time in July 1820. An apologetic letter from Jefferson to Watterston dated July 27, 1820, tells the Librarian that he failed, because of his bad hearing, to catch his name when they were introduced and as a consequence had not "pressed for a longer continuation of the favor of [his] visit" as he would have had he known to whom he was talking.²⁵ Watterston's reply of August 4, 1820, is tactful and the exchange shows both men in a favorable light. Watterston says



"Plan of the Principal Floor of the Capitol," drawn by Benjamin H. Latrobe in 1817. The spacious library in the center of the west front was not ready, however, until 1824. Prints and Photographs Division.

to Jefferson of his visit, "Both Dr. Hamilton & myself were more gratified, by the reception you gave us as *strangers*, than we should have been, had we had the honor of your acquaintance."²⁶

Watterston apparently talked of resigning in 1823. Taking into account the tenacity with which he attempted to regain the position once it was taken from him in 1829, the resignation episode can only be judged one of the mysterious incidents in Watterston's tenure. Jefferson wrote to President Monroe on December 19, 1823: "Mr. Girardin, president of the college of Baltimore more understanding that the office of Librarian of Congress is expected to become vacant by resignⁿ, and desirous of being placed in it, has requested me to state to you what I know of his qualif^{us}."²⁷

It is possible that the talk of resignation was the result of another Joint Library Committee effort to remove Watterston and that the man on whose behalf Jefferson was writing either believed Watterston was resigning or misled Jefferson in saying this was so.

From a very early period the Library was a center of social activity in Washington. Describing the character of the Library in the earliest period, Johnston notes that "because there were no other sources of amusement" before 1814 and indeed later, the Library "was much resorted to as a place of relaxation."²⁸ This continued to be true in the Garret Period as Watterston's description in his 1822 novel, *The L. . . . Family at Washington*, makes clear.

In August 1824 the Library moved into spacious new quarters in the center of the Capitol and became a showplace of the city. Readying this space for the Library had taken the architects several years, and at one point, on March 21, 1822, the Library's right to the space was threatened by a resolution proposed by Congressman Mark Hill "to inquire into the practicability of preparing, for the accommodation of the House of Representatives, the room in the center building designed for the Library." Though the resolution to take this highly desirable space for the House came to nothing, there was a direct modern parallel in 1974, when newspapers carried reports that the House was gathering signatures for a possible takeover of the Madison Building, under construction as the third building of the Library of Congress.

The *National Intelligencer* for January 1, 1825, describes the new Library accommodations in detail, complimenting their "style of great beauty and elegance" and going on to call the apartment "the most beautiful . . . in the building." This was a widely shared opinion. The *National Journal* went further in describing the room as "decidedly the most beautiful, and in the best taste of any in this country."²⁹ Frances Trollope, another traveler of the period, calls it a "very handsome room . . . elegantly furnished; rich Brussels carpet; library tables, with portfolios of engravings; abundance of sofas, and so on. The view from it is glorious, and it looks like the abode of luxury and taste."³⁰

This glory threatened to be short-lived, for a fire broke out in the Library quarters on December 22, 1825. The subsequent investigation revealed that the fire was started by a candle in one of the galleries. There are conflicting newspaper reports about the length of time it took to put the fire out, but apparently the Library, and indeed the Capitol itself, had a close call. Since the gallery in which the fire took place housed largely duplicate sets of public documents, the loss was not particularly heavy. The book collection emerged unharmed. The House issued a resolution calling for an inquiry into the cause of the fire. Watterston wrote to Edward Everett, a member of the Joint Committee, on January 2, 1826, in response to an inquiry on the topic, "Enclosed are my answers to your second interrogatories. . . . I feel a little hurt that the committee should think, I would deliberately *state any thing* on an occasion like this, that I would not feel myself justified in *swearing to*."³¹ Watterston followed up with another letter on the same topic the following day: "My answers have been as full & ample as they could be made consistantly [sic] with a strict regard to truth & I regret that it is not in my power to designate the individual from whose inattention I conceive the fire to have originated on the night of 22d ult."³²

On January 4 the Joint Committee reported that it did not feel prepared to express an opinion on the question of whether any person in the employ of the government was chargeable with negligence, and the report was ordered to lie on the table. Various ways to fireproof the Library were subsequently considered. The

physical nature of the rooms made some of the recommended alterations either too expensive or impossible to accomplish. There were debates about replacing the wood walls with metal and stone, and fears that excessive moisture would accumulate. The final conclusion, February 6, read that "as the Library can, in the judgment of the committee, be made sufficiently safe by proper care of the lights and fires, the committee do not deem it expedient that the House should adopt any measure in the premises." Unfortunately, it was only after the disastrous fire of 1851 that significant measures were taken to improve the situation.

The fragmentary surviving evidence indicates that the fire exposed Watterston to threatening attacks on his position, as the burning of the Capitol had left Patrick Magruder vulnerable in 1814. In the Watterston papers there is a letter of considerable interest from Watterston to W. C. Bradley, July 8, 1826 (a 1953 addition to the collection and thus not available to Johnston and other earlier historians of the Library). After striking hydra-headed federalism several sharp blows and summarizing his "laborious" situation (which in his account sounds convincing; the duties of running such a large operation by himself must frequently have been onerous), he turns to a theme which recurs in letters written after his dismissal:

... I believe, until last winter, no murmur of complaint was ever heard. But there are so many greedy & hungry expectants of office who flock to the seat of govt. during the sessⁿ or who, at a distance, pester & harass the members for situations, that, upon the occurrence of the slightest accident, & indeed where no cause exists, they rush forward open mouthed & in full cry to fill the vacant space by any means whether just or unjust or whether fitted for it or not.

To anyone familiar with Watterston's style, that account has a touch of the gothic excess to which he was prone. He continues:

I was sure that neither you nor any of my friends & acquaintances in Congress, would for a moment countenance any attempt which might be made to do me an act of the grossest injustice. . . . I should like to know the name of the man who was laboring to undermine me last sessⁿ that I might mark him & be put upon my guard in future.

In the journalistic war which followed Watterston's dismissal in 1829, Watterston's opponent in the *Telegraph* cautioned him that his

situation was not one to "ensure perfect complacency" and urges him to "recal [sic] the affair of the burning of the Library. . . ." ³³ Obviously the fire opened Watterston to attack from his enemies. With no more evidence than is available, we can only assume that enough friends came to his rescue in 1826 to keep the situation under control.

From the standpoint of the Library's history Watterston's extensive correspondence with Edward Everett, member of the Joint Library Committee from December 6, 1825, to beyond Watterston's term in office, is of the greatest interest. At first reading Everett's letters to Watterston seem to reveal a thorough dislike of him, suggesting that Everett might have made some of the difficulties Watterston reported to Bradley in the letter quoted above. A check of Everett's diary, which contains many entries on his activities as a member of the Joint Committee on the Library (unfortunately mostly of a very pedestrian nature), fails to bear this out. It is likely that the two men were not fond of one another, but the coolness in the letters may have been typical of Everett's dealings with an underling. It is certainly true that Everett made no public expression of regret about Watterston's dismissal and it is quite possible that he was happy at the turn of events. The letters from Watterston's successor, John Silva Meehan, are much more obliging and tactful, and Meehan continued to write to Everett for years after the Congressman had left the Joint Committee and the House.

There is evidence that Watterston ran into still another difficulty with Congress, in this instance with the Ways and Means Committee, in 1828. On July 12 of that year he wrote to Everett, "You will, perhaps, be as much surprised as I was to know that, by a most singular oversight, the Chairman of the Commee of Ways & Means, has omitted altogether both the Liby & Librarian & has made no provision, in the general appropriation bill, for the salary of the one or the expenses of the other." ³⁴ Everett responded in a typically unemotional manner: "I wonder that the Committee of W. & M. in deliberately omitting it from their bill (as I presume they did, for they could not well draft a new bill without having the old one before them) should not have notified the library committee if they wished us to attend to it." He concludes with a more sanguine

observation than Watterston may have felt appropriate in the circumstances: "The omission can be rectified early next winter. Meantime you will enjoy the comfort of being a man in good credit."³⁵

In 1827 Watterston began writing regularly for the *National Journal*, earning an additional \$500 a year for his contributions, which were largely devoted to furthering the Whig cause. His interest in politics was, of course, not new. In his novel *Wanderer in Washington*, published in 1827, his commentator speaks very favorably of Henry Clay and "a warm partisan of General Jackson" exhausts "the fountain of his panegyric on Gen. Jackson, and of vituperation against Messrs. Adams and Clay. . . ."³⁶ His partiality for Henry Clay was of long standing and Clay, in a letter of July 21, 1829, two months after Watterston's dismissal says, "In your particular case, as in some others, I have been inexpressibly grieved by the reflection that friendship for me may have been one of the causes which led to this exercise of vengeance upon you and upon them."³⁷ Given what today strikes us as Watterston's incredible recklessness in identifying himself so closely with politics, it is hard to understand how he could have been surprised, as he apparently was, by Jackson's action. When Watterston learned on May 28, 1829, of Meehan's appointment to his position he was furious, and on leaving office he took with him his record books and the manuscript catalog of Jefferson's library.³⁸

His connections with the *National Journal* enabled him to launch a journalistic war on all his opponents. In the exchange which appeared in the newspapers following Watterston's dismissal, the *Telegraph* for June 12, 1829, carried the following description of the ex-Librarian:

It is notorious that the manners of the ex-librarian were of a peculiar disgusting order; his conduct to those who had occasion to visit the library, as well to those who had a right, was of the most rude and supercilious description; so much so, that many of our members of Congress and citizens, rather than encounter the obliging Mr. Watterston, sought elsewhere the information they might have obtained more readily in the library.

The exchange between Watterston and the *Telegraph* is markedly abusive and slanted and these remarks certainly cannot be taken at face

value, although there is undoubtedly more than a grain of truth in the description. Responding to this article in the June 16, 1829, *National Journal*, Watterston fell into a trap of sorts (which the *Telegraph* picked up with glee):

If my manners were at any time "supercilious," it was found necessary to assume them to get rid of such impudent and vulgar intruders as he and his satellites, and to save the books from being *purloined*.

Watterston was a man used to handling the pen and occasionally he resorted to hyperbole and excess in putting down his opponents. At the height of the exchange the *Telegraph* accused him of foaming at the mouth.

Some of his best invective was poured out on his successor, John Silva Meehan, whom he characterized in the most unflattering terms. The *National Intelligencer* of June 16, 1829, in a piece speaking favorably of Watterston's "assiduous and praiseworthy" official conduct, quotes a letter from the ex-Librarian. To the charge that the Library was in a state of derangement and confusion during his tenure he replies that if books cannot be found he is "not answerable for the ignorance or stupidity of those who have been put into a situation for which they may be wholly unfit." This was but a warm-up for the next round. In a February 1830 letter to Asher Robbins, chairman of the Joint Library Committee, he replies to the charge that books are missing:

What must be the feelings of the man who can thus trump up a statement which he *knows* to be *erroneous* and which he has, no doubt made from an impression that it would never reach my ears. He may have been misled by the practice which has lately prevailed in a higher sphere, of shooting the poisoned arrows in the dark and leaving the victim to suffer without his knowledge by whom it was discharged. It would seem that he had mistaken his men. . . . This must be ascribed either to malignity or ignorance or may possibly originate from a *requisition* to justify an act of usurpation, by misrepresentation and falsehood [sic].³⁹

Watterston came early to his sharp tongue, for there is evidence that he had a tongue as dangerous to himself as to others as far back as his days as a young lawyer. In *Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City* Allen C. Clark tells that Watterston was on opposite sides of a case with John Law after they had dissolved their association. Law won the judgment and Watterston exclaimed in front of the judge before whom the case was being tried, James S. Morsell: "There is not a

morsel of law in the case." Clark adds, "The judge did not appreciate the humor of the double-barreled pun; he did remark concerning contempt of court."⁴⁰

Unsuccessful in regaining office in 1829, he pinned his hopes on electing a Whig President, who in gratitude would set things right. For whatever reasons his position was not restored to him when the Whigs next took office in 1841. Watterston was still hopeful in 1849 when the Whigs once again triumphed. Though he petitioned President Taylor, the President showed to him "a manner and recep[tio]n . . . such as lead me to believe that there was no in[ten]tion on his part to make a removal & to do me the act of simple justice."⁴¹ Watterston had still one more chance when Taylor died and Vice President Fillmore succeeded him. When his appeals to the new President brought him no more satisfaction than all his previous petitions, Watterston lost all patience with the Whig party. In October 1850 his daughter Sara wrote to her sister Eliza: "Father has seen Mr. F. and he says he does not like to remove the present librarian. . . . The result is that father is disgusted and very much hurt, and has left the Whig party!"⁴²

In a prescient observation Frances Wright D'Arusmont characterized the Jefferson collection in the following manner in 1821: "These volumes, . . . marked with the name of America's president and philosopher, will always constitute the most interesting portion of the national library."⁴³ Although the Library of Congress today reveres the 2,400 survivors from the original 6,700-volume purchase and accords them a place of honor in the Rare Book Division, their purchase was hotly debated in 1814 and the legislation authorizing their acquisition barely squeaked past. The debate, marked by party interests, narrow prejudices, and parsimony, makes sad and frequently embarrassing reading today. Johnston summarized the objections to the purchase as generally

its cost, its extent, the nature of the selection, and the number of the works in foreign languages, particularly French, many of them the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, and other literary apostles of the French Revolution; nor did English works of progress and speculative freedom, such as Locke's, escape animadversion. Other works were said to be of too

philosophical a character, and some, as Callendar's Prospect before us, were otherwise objectionable.⁴⁴

In the debate there was talk of returning volumes inappropriate for the Library's collection to Jefferson. In the end the collection was purchased *in toto* and all the books were retained. Despite the size and variety to which the opposition had taken exception, the Joint Library Committee report of January 26, 1816, written by Eligius Fromentin, found the collection inadequate.

It is enough to cast a rapid glance over the catalogue of the library of Congress to become immediately sensible of the immense *hiatus* which some of the departments of arts or sciences exhibit. Some of the branches of the arts or sciences are swelled to a prodigious size, which at the same time that it is by no means a certain proof of a greater degree of health in these parasite branches, manifests every symptom of threatening decay of the tree itself. This was observable likewise in the old library of Congress, although in a less degree.

Fromentin goes on to observe that this last-named state of affairs was hardly surprising considering the limited sums which had been available for taking advantage of the many opportunities to purchase books from Europe. These opportunities had not all passed and he calls for an appropriation of \$10,000 to "place within the reach of every member of Congress all the most valuable books in every department of arts and sciences, of which there is now such a lamentable deficiency." Though Fromentin's proposal was not successful, his report demonstrates that the 1816 library committee took a broad view of the Library's responsibility to Congress. In the 1810's the Library had an opportunity to acquire the "invaluable collection of American topography made by Col. William Tatham."⁴⁵ Johnston devotes several pages to the collection but has no explanation of the Library's failure to acquire the "valuable stock of maps, plates, charts, and explanatory manuscripts" which filled six rooms of Tatham's house at the time of his suicide in 1819.⁴⁶ Perhaps the lack of space in the "garret" and the arrearages already stacked on tables were determining factors.

The January 6, 1817, report of the Joint Committee takes a more strictly practical view of the development of the collection. The principal recent thrust of the collection building effort had

been in serials, which were consuming a sizable part of the annual appropriation. The categories specifically mentioned in the report are periodical publications, both literary and political (which should be acquired from their beginning to the present day); transactions and papers; and general catalogs from foreign countries. The committee invited the chairmen of the various congressional committees to provide lists of maps and books needed to conduct their business. They arranged to have a box placed in the Library to receive recommendations for book purchases from members of both houses. They proposed, but were not given, an appropriation of \$3,000 to strengthen the law collections.

If the Joint Committee wavered between a comprehensive collection and a collection focused on day-to-day practical needs, one man consistently took a broad view of the Library's responsibilities—Thomas Jefferson. While he was President, he submitted desiderata lists which were used to form the collection that the British destroyed. In his September 21, 1814, letter offering his library to the Joint Committee he observed, "I do not know that it contains any branch of science which Congress would wish to exclude from their collection. There is in fact no subject to which a member of Congress may not have occasion to refer."⁴⁷ He gave another expression of his philosophy of collection building in a September 1, 1820, letter to Watterston:

Having lately met with a very full catalogue of books relating to America, I have supposed it could not be better placed than in your hands for the use of the library committee with which I presume it is a primary object to obtain every thing of that description.⁴⁸

An article under the heading "The National Library" in the August 28, 1823, *National Intelligencer*, commented on the opportunities the room in the center of the Capitol, shortly to be opened, would provide for the growth of the collection:

It is obvious, that a certain frivolous class of books may, and ought to be excluded; but there should be no work of high character and unquestionable utility, published in any part of the world, which ought not, in time, to find its way into the National Library of the United States.

On February 24, 1824, the Committee of Ways and Means (at the instigation of Joel Poinsett from the Joint Committee) made a report underlining the Library's deficiencies:

The committee have discovered the Library of Congress, in its present state, to be defective in all the principal branches of literature; and they deem it of the first necessity, that this deficiency should be speedily supplied, at least, in the important branches of *Law, Politics, Commerce, History and Geography*, as most useful to the Members of Congress.

To implement this statement—which is considerably more limited in its implications than the Jefferson point of view or the *National Intelligencer* recommendations of the previous year—the report proposes \$5,000 to supply the defects in the Library's collections. A bill making an appropriation in that amount was passed, May 26, 1824, the largest such appropriation to that point.

The responsibility for selecting materials for the Library's collections belonged to the Joint Committee, not the Librarian of Congress, and Watterston necessarily played a limited role in the development of the collection. Mahlon Dickerson of New Jersey was appointed chairman of the Joint Committee on December 1, 1817, and remained in the position for the next 10 years. Though Johnston says that Dickerson was "famed for his love of books"⁴⁹ and Watterston called him a "biblical cormorant" in the *L. . . . Family at Washington*,⁵⁰ the Library's growth in the period 1817 to 1824 was very slow. However, with the new quarters in the Capitol matters looked more hopeful, and the \$5,000 appropriation of 1824 was followed by \$5,000 in 1826, \$3,000 in 1827, and \$5,000 in 1828.

Perhaps the most important event in this period was the appointment of Edward Everett to the Joint Committee on December 6, 1825. He quickly became the most active member and set out to do something about the deficiencies in the Library. In the months of October and November 1826 Everett took a particularly keen interest in the Library's collection. His diary entries and letters from that period show him compiling want lists, seeking information from Watterston on the Library's holdings, visiting bookstores, attending auctions, examining duplicates in libraries, etc. In his search for information he asks Watterston for reports by return mail, and it is not hard to imagine Watterston, trying to run the Library by himself, exclaiming furiously when still another letter arrived. On October 31, 1826, Everett wrote to Watterston: ". . . I think American works (tho' not excellent) ought to be

in the Library to furnish, I trust, to after times the means of proving the ratio of advancement." ⁵¹ In the same letter he calls upon Watterston to "prepare & keep on hand a Catalogue of books most wanted in Every department, to which New books c'd be added as they appear." To one of his suggestions Watterston replied on December 13, 1826, with something of the asperity typical of his personality, "Perhaps it may not be improper to suggest that it may be leaving too much to the taste & discretion of the Librarian to select such books as he may deem imperfect or defective from any cause, for the purpose of excluding them from the Liby." ⁵²

In the category of lost opportunities, of which there were many in this early period, falls one possible purchase advanced by Everett: a collection of manuscripts and books relating to America in the possession of Obadiah Rich. Rich (1783–1850), consul of the United States in Valencia, Spain, at the time and an important bookseller specializing in manuscripts and printed books relating to America, served American collectors and libraries well. In the 1820's he had unbelievable opportunities to acquire remarkable material, at prices which today make a collector weep. Everett submitted the list of one collection offered by Rich to the House, which had it printed December 27, 1827. This 24-page list leads off with 9 pages of manuscripts and follows with printed books in a chronological arrangement from 1506 ("Americus Vespuccius' Voyage, in German . . . Leipsick, 1506") through 1825 ("Navarrete Viages de Colon"). The list concludes with a note:

A very large collection of Tracts relating to America, both in English and in Spanish; and a great many English and French books, which, not being at hand, are omitted in the foregoing list.⁵³

Here was an opportunity indeed, and one which Everett had hopes would come to something at least as late as May 17, 1828. A diary entry on that date notes that the "joint committee on the library met; & agreed to sanction the demand for \$5000 with a view to the purchase of Rich's books." ⁵⁴ To gain a perspective on the list and on the opportunity it offered, I consulted the list of major desiderata which the Library of Congress published in 1926.⁵⁵ One of the first sections of the list is "Letters of Vespucci" (these letters, of course, being our central first-hand

source of information on the voyages of Americus Vespuccius (1451–1512), the man after whom America is named). The Leipzig 1506 edition of Vespucci's "Letters," the first printed item on Rich's list, is a Library of Congress desideratum, still lacking from the collection. The second item on Rich's list, Fracanzano da Montalbocco's *Itinerarium Portugalensium*, Milan, 1508 (the Latin edition of *Paesi novamente retrovati*, the first printed collection of voyages and travels), is on the Library's 1926 desiderata list but has since been acquired. The third item, the Milan 1508 edition of *Paesi novamente retrovati*, is still a Library of Congress desideratum. These first three titles give a pretty clear indication of the quality of Rich's collection, which contained between 300 and 400 titles. There is nothing in the printed record, in the Watterston papers, or in Everett's diary to indicate why the purchase fell through. Inertia perhaps, or eventual resistance of the other members of the Joint Committee. The Rich collection was eventually acquired by the great American collector, James Lenox, whose library in turn became the foundation stone of the New York Public Library rare book collection.

Though Everett remained a member of the Joint Committee through Watterston's term in office and beyond, his later diary entries show no other burst of energy equivalent to the period in late 1826. In general his comments in his diary on the committee's meeting are factual and brief. Apparently he was irritated, as well he might have been, by the meeting of January 4, 1827, for his diary notes:

At a meeting of the Library Committee I proposed the purchase of Humboldt's large work on America. No one gentleman cordially seconded me. Most opposed me, & the most I c'd get from them to consent to was to buy it, if on consulting several members they would approve it.⁵⁶

Perhaps his interest faltered in the face of this kind of discouraging reception to his recommendations.

However, there were some good days. The *National Journal* on January 31, 1829, reprinted an account from the *New York Evening Post* on one of Everett's successful purchases:

We learn that Professor Everett, acting officially as one of the Library Committee of Congress, has purchased about five hundred dollars worth of the rarest

and most valuable books in Signor Duponte's collection. . . . We hardly know which deserves the most praise, the good taste which selected these inestimable books for the Library of the Capital, or the interesting enthusiasm which prompted this venerable *savant* to risk, with extremely limited means, the importation of a collection which we reluctantly confess New York has not been able to appreciate.

The article describes several of the books purchased from the Duponte collection in a very general fashion, providing no information on the place of printing, printer, or date. The Duponte copy of one of the works almost certainly survives in the Rare Book Division today: "the extremely rare *Voyages of Marco Polo and other celebrated navigators*, by Ramusio. . . ." The first volume of the Library's copy of the second edition of Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venetia: nella Stamperia de Giunti, 1554) contains an 1830 date-stamp on the title page.

Johnston points out that the Library's manuscript collection was of little consequence when Watterston's administration ended. The *Washington City Chronicle* in the summer of 1829 described in some detail "a Catholic missal or breviary, in Latin and French, and though admirably executed with the pen, rather difficult to read. . . ." ⁵⁷ The *Chronicle* piece gives the rather unlikely information that the manuscript is dated 1591 (could this have been an owner's note?) and compliments the illumination, though noting that "some illustrations . . . are . . . badly drawn and executed. . . ." Though it would be highly instructive to see the manuscript and judge its quality, I have not been able to locate it in the Library's collections.

Various individuals commented on the collection in the decade of the 1820's. Jared Sparks wrote on May 18, 1826: "On American History the library is exceedingly meagre, containing nothing but a few of the commonest books; but on American politics it is full, particularly to the year 1808, when Mr. Jefferson left the government." ⁵⁸ The poet Henry Cogswell Knight felt that the collection had an undue proportion of antiquated editions and of foreign-language works, which he thought would be of little use to Congress. ⁵⁹ Anne Royall criticized Watterston for letting the books of the Sunday School Union into the Library, saying, "These Sunday school books are lying useless in the library, as I would suppose no member of Con-

gress reads them. Let Mr. W. sell them and give the amount to the suffering poor—if he is so pious. . . ." ⁶⁰ Johnston notes that these criticisms are "not altogether fair" indications of the character of the collection. Of the comments on the Library he felt that Mrs. Trollope's was perhaps "as fair as any." She said that the Library was "very like that of a private English gentleman, but with less Latin, Greek, and Italian." ⁶¹

Because of congressional control of materials selection, Watterston had little influence over the development of the Library's collections, and, though Johnston called him a "bookman," he was using the term with a meaning different from one others would be likely to employ:

He was a journalist, and therefore interested in live questions, public questions; an author of several books, and therefore understood books as only an author can; and above all he was a bookman—it is necessary only to quote from his commonplace books to indicate this.⁶²

Watterston was an author, but was he a man broadly familiar with the book trade, with book values, with bibliography, rare books, etc.? Probably not. His first letter to Jefferson makes clear that he was not familiar with the former President's library, for he describes the collection as "considerably larger, & I presume much more select & valuable." ⁶³ He says of himself in an undated draft communication in the Watterston papers: "His knowledge of books & the extent of his reading & attainments were such that it was thought by those who visited the Liby, he was acquainted with the contents of every vol. in it." ⁶⁴ There is no indication in any of the surviving records that he pushed for acquiring any significant collections for the Library. Everett had to ask him to prepare want lists and on May 23, 1828, reminded him that the Joint Committee wished him to complete the collection of the laws and law reports of each state.⁶⁵ If his role in the development of the collections was small, it is hardly to be wondered. Had he contented himself with his library duties, he would have had more than enough to do without seeking responsibilities that were not really his. He also had broad and time-consuming literary and journalistic interests outside the Library.

In a postscript to a letter of May 23, 1828, Everett nudges Watterston, "Would it not be

well to make a little interest with the Senators for our appropriation bill." Though later Librarians would work closely with the Congress on such matters, there is no evidence that Watterston interested himself in this activity. He had a superior attitude toward the Congressmen he served and on more than one occasion got in some jabs at their expense, some after his removal from office and some before. As editor of the *Washington City Chronicle*, he commented on November 7, 1829:

The Reports of the British Parliament . . . are not so "well thumbed" . . . as they ought to be by the American legislator. These volumes of Reports contain an immense mass of political information. . . . We are sorry to say . . . that there are but few who have as yet discovered their value.

In his *Wanderer in Washington* he has a character say of the Library, "It is undoubtedly an invaluable privilege, and he must, indeed, be happy who can retire from the agitating scenes of political strife, to lounge in the splendid repository of wisdom and learning, and repose in this Attic temple of the Muses.—But I fear it is not so often resorted to as might be expected, by those who have free admission into its recesses."⁶⁶

There is at least some question about Watterston's success in keeping the Library in respectable shape. The *Telegraph* on December 19, 1828, described the enormous collection of public documents in the western gallery as "that awful pile . . . 25 feet high and 100 long. . . ." Watterston's successor, Meehan, wrote to Edward Everett on July 16, 1830:

We are getting on pretty well with our labors; cleaning the books, destroying worms, and washing the shelves. The evil you pointed out last winter, will not exist in the Library when we again have the pleasure of seeing you. The shelves shall be altered, where it is necessary, so that the books may be placed erect. Some of them have been injured by standing awry on the shelves for several years.⁶⁷

A British traveler, Frederick Marryat, called the Library the "best lounge at Washington" but added "the books are certainly not very well treated. I saw a copy of Audubon's Ornithology, and many other valuable works, in a very dilapidated state. . . ." ⁶⁸ Marryat balanced his criticism by adding that this state of affairs is "much better than locking it up, for only the bindings to be looked at." The librarian's problem of pre-

serving his collections and at the same time making them available to users is an old one indeed.

Julia Kennedy, in her study of Watterston's literary career, takes account of everything good that can be said of him as a writer, but leaves the conviction that his talent was minor. Her bibliography is extensive and suggests a wider interest in Watterston's writings than actually exists. Many of her references contain no mention of Watterston but are rather studies of his time, genres in which he wrote, people who influenced him, etc. With some justice, she takes issue with Johnston's statement that "after his appointment [Watterston] became an interpreter of the literature in his custody and ceased to make any notable contribution to literature itself."⁶⁹ In making this remark Johnston was defining "literature" very literally. *The L . . . Family at Washington* (1822) and *Wanderer in Washington* (1827) have considerably more life than his other literary efforts and are likely to retain their interest longer. These books—they are hard to characterize but closer to novels than anything else—comment on actual Congressmen, cabinet members, and local institutions and events, and have definite historical interest.

In a recent book, *The Early American Novel*, Henri Petter accords little space to Watterston. In discussing *The Lawyer* and *Glencarn* he speaks of the "wildness and incoherence" that often make the two novels "pretentious and ridiculous."⁷⁰ In another passage he calls *Glencarn* "a preposterous book."⁷¹ Ridiculous or not, *The Lawyer* is now a book of some rarity, as a recent price of \$250 in a dealer's catalog for a copy with some imperfections indicates. The book is described in that catalog as the first novel printed west of the Alleghenies (in Pittsburgh) and as the first American novel with a lawyer as subject. To the tally of "firsts" Kennedy adds two more: "He was the first to use the National Capitol as a setting for fiction, and the first to realize the potentialities of Washington society as good humorous material."⁷²

Watterston's literary and journalistic efforts were diverse. A secretary of the Washington Botanical Society for years, he wrote on tobacco, landscape gardening, and assorted horticultural topics. After his removal from office as Librarian he launched even more ambitiously into publishing guidebooks, statistical compendiums, bio-

graphical sketches, textbooks, and lectures and well earned the title which Kennedy accords him—"the metropolitan author."

Among his nonliterary activities he is remembered locally for his close identification with the Washington National Monument Society. He served as the society's secretary from its beginnings until the end of his life, and before his death had the satisfaction of seeing the shaft reach a height of 150 feet. The obituary notice which appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, February 6, 1854, two days after his death, did not even mention his years as Librarian of Congress but instead spent much of the space discussing his contribution to "the great enterprise of erecting in this city the Monument to the memory of the Father of his Country. . . ."

Watterston's sharp tongue, which amuses us today in the frequent outrageousness of its excess, is, of course, only one side of the man. Despite the inadequate financial support which Watterston and the Joint Committee lamented,

the Library grew under his stewardship. When he left office in 1829, the Library of Congress had the fourth largest collection in the country. Jefferson's classification, an innovation in the book world, had been adopted and would continue to be used throughout the century. The Library was established in handsome quarters, not yet inadequate as they were to become later in the century. Issues had been raised which would remain both central and hotly debated to this day—the role of the Library (should it be a library of record for the American experience or an authoritative collection for the entire world?); the Library's proper clientele; the concept of a national library; the most appropriate use of book funds (should the emphasis be on current books at the expense of important books not previously acquired?); the qualifications desirable in the Librarian of Congress. And finally, though it would be no salve to Watterston, his career served, as an unfortunate example, to remind his successors of the desirability of keeping the Library of Congress out of politics.

NOTES

¹ Martin Gordon, "Patrick Magruder: Citizen, Congressman, Librarian of Congress," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 32 (July 1975): 154-171.

² William Dawson Johnston, *History of the Library of Congress, 1800-1864*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904).

³ [Anne Newport Royall], *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, in the United States* (New-Haven: Printed for the author, 1826), p. 151.

⁴ David C. Mearns, *The Story Up to Now* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1947), p. 30.

⁵ [George Watterston], *Wanderer in Washington* (Washington: Jonathan Elliot, Jr., 1827), p. 137.

⁶ *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), December 13, 1852.

⁷ [George Watterston], *The Lawyer; or, Man As He Ought Not To Be* (Pittsburgh: Zadok Cramer, 1808).

⁸ Julia Elizabeth Kennedy, *George Watterston, Novelist, "Metropolitan Author," and Critic* (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1933), p. 5.

⁹ Johnston's *History*, p. 109, and other sources indicate that Watterston was a partner of Thomas Law. However, Allen Culling Clark, in *Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City* (Washington: W. F. Roberts, 1901), makes no mention of any connection with Thomas, who in the years in question was a prominent

Washingtonian. Clark says on p. 306 that Watterston was associated with John Law (1784-1822), Thomas Law's son.

¹⁰ *Glencarn; or, The Disappointments of Youth* (Alexandria: Cottom & Stewart, 1810); *The Child of Feeling. A Comedy, in Five Acts* (George Town: Joseph Milligan, 1809); *The Scenes of Youth. A Poem* (Washington: Printed by Rapine and Elliot, 1813).

¹¹ George Watterston, *The Wanderer in Jamaica. A Poem* (Washington: W. Cooper, printer, 1810), p. 3.

¹² Watterston to W. C. Bradley, July 8, 1826, Watterston papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹³ Watterston to James Madison, October 28, 1813, Madison papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁴ Jefferson to Samuel Harrison Smith, September 21, 1814, Jefferson papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁵ Jefferson papers.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

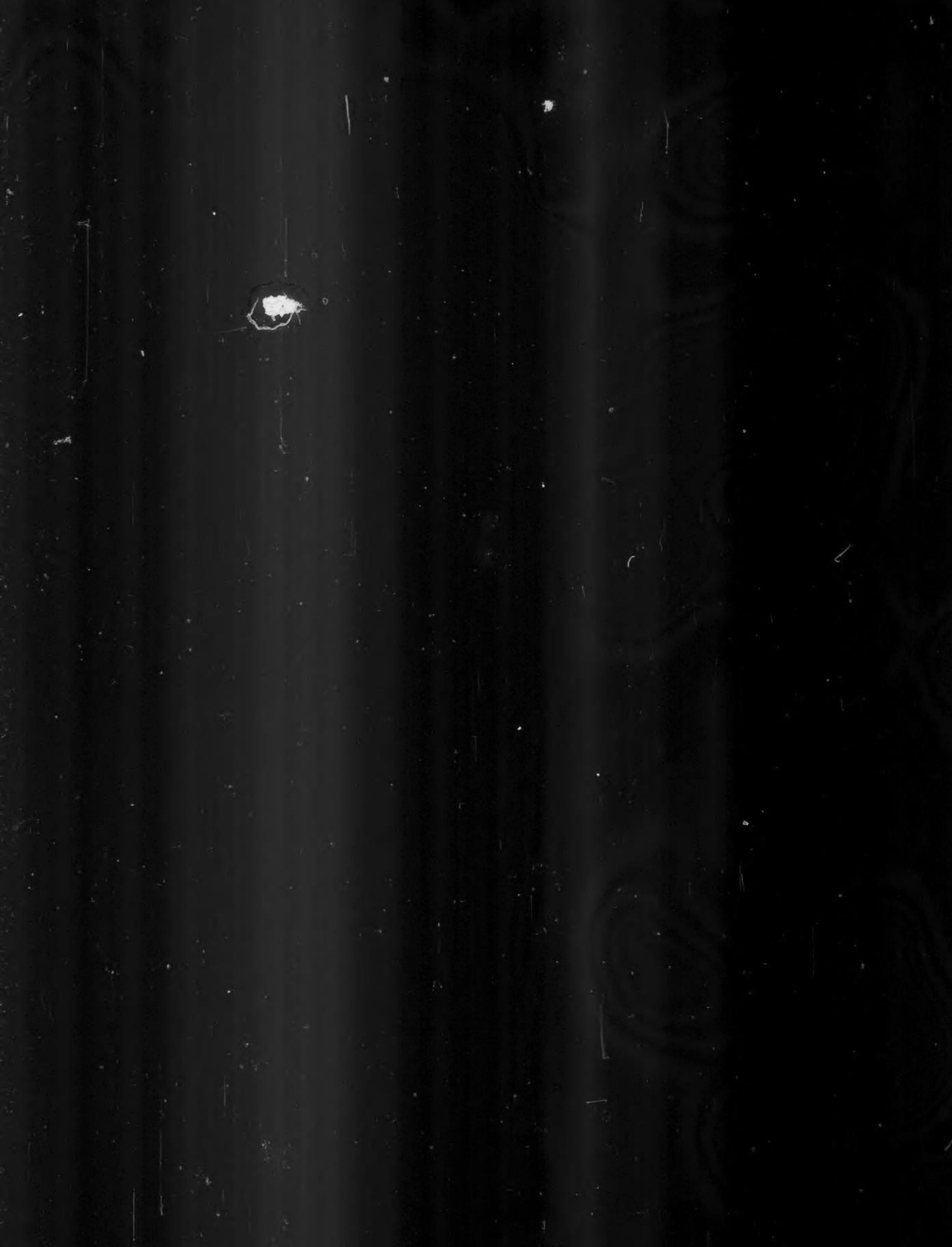
¹⁸ *Catalogue of the Library of the United States* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1815).

¹⁹ Jefferson to Watterston, March 2, 1816, Watterston papers.

²⁰ Jefferson papers.

- ²¹ Mearns, *The Story Up to Now*, p. 28.
- ²² Monroe papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- ²³ Frances Wright D'Arusmont, *Views of Society and Manners in America* (New York: E. Bliss and E. White, 1821), p. 378.
- ²⁴ [George Watterston], *The L. . . Family at Washington; or, A Winter in the Metropolis* (Washington: Davis and Force, 1822), p. 37.
- ²⁵ Jefferson papers.
- ²⁶ Ibid. Watterston described his visit in "Monticello and Montpelier," *National Intelligencer*, August 15, 1820.
- ²⁷ Jefferson papers.
- ²⁸ Johnston, *History*, p. 49.
- ²⁹ *National Journal* (Washington), April 12, 1827.
- ³⁰ Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., 1832), 1:326.
- ³¹ Watterston papers.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ *United States' Telegraph* (Washington), June 16, 1829.
- ³⁴ Watterston papers.
- ³⁵ July 19, 1828, letterbook copy in Edward Everett, *The Microfilm Edition of the Edward Everett Papers*, ed. Frederick S. Allis, Jr. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1972).
- ³⁶ Watterston, *Wanderer in Washington*, p. 11.
- ³⁷ Watterston papers.
- ³⁸ For information on the Jefferson "fair copy of the Catalogue of my library," see the preface in *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, comp. E. Millicent Sowerby, 5 vols. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1952).
- ³⁹ Draft of letter in the Watterston papers.
- ⁴⁰ Clark, *Greenleaf and Law*, p. 306.
- ⁴¹ Watterston to [J. M. Clayton?], October 15, 1849, draft in the Watterston papers.
- ⁴² October [27?], 1850, Watterston papers.
- ⁴³ D'Arusmont, *Views*, p. 378.
- ⁴⁴ Johnston, *History*, p. 74.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 50.
- ⁴⁶ Richmond *Enquirer*, February 25, 1819.
- ⁴⁷ Jefferson to Samuel Harrison Smith, Jefferson papers.
- ⁴⁸ Jefferson papers.
- ⁴⁹ Johnston, *History*, p. 158.
- ⁵⁰ Watterston, *L. . . Family*, p. 77.
- ⁵¹ Letterbook, Everett, *Microfilm Edition*.
- ⁵² Watterston papers.
- ⁵³ Obadiah Rich, *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Possession of Obadiah Rich, Esq.* (Washington, 1827), p. 24.
- ⁵⁴ Everett, *Microfilm Edition*.
- ⁵⁵ *The Library of Congress. Some Notable Items That It Has; Some Examples of Many Others That It Needs* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1926).
- ⁵⁶ Everett, *Microfilm Edition*.
- ⁵⁷ *Washington City Chronicle*, August 22, 1829.
- ⁵⁸ Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1893), 1:461-62.
- ⁵⁹ [Henry Cogswell Knight], *Letters From the South and West*, by Arthur Singleton [pseud.] (Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1824), p. 54.
- ⁶⁰ Anne Newport Royall, *The Black Book*, 3 vols. (Washington: Printed for the author, 1828-29), 3:210-11.
- ⁶¹ Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, 1:326.
- ⁶² Johnston, *History*, p. 108.
- ⁶³ April 26, 1815, Jefferson papers.
- ⁶⁴ This draft, which Johnston transcribes in part on pp. 201-2 of his *History*, can be dated after March 3, 1841, on the basis of internal evidence. On that day the son of John Silva Meehan, Watterston's successor, was appointed second assistant librarian. In the draft Watterston compares the "outrageous" expenses of running the Library with the economy of his own day and loudly protests the "throw[ing] away" of \$1,150 on the young Meehan.
- ⁶⁵ Watterston papers.
- ⁶⁶ Watterston, *Wanderer in Washington*, p. 220.
- ⁶⁷ Everett, *Microfilm Edition*.
- ⁶⁸ Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America*, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839), 2:7-8.
- ⁶⁹ Johnston, *History*, p. 111.
- ⁷⁰ Henri Petter, *The Early American Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), pp. 326-27.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., p. 322.
- ⁷² Kennedy, *George Watterston*, p. 8.

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Publications for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution¹

The American Revolution: A Selected Reading List. 1968. 38 p. 80 cents. Presents numerous approaches to the Revolution, ranging from eyewitness accounts by the men and women involved in the struggle for independence to recent scholarly evaluations.

The Boston Massacre, 1770, engraved by Paul Revere. Library of Congress Facsimile No. 4. \$2. A full-color facsimile of the famous engraving is presented in a red folder which forms a mat for the print. A description of the events leading to the massacre and to the production of the engraving appears on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Creating Independence, 1763-1789; Background Reading for Young People. 1972. 62 p. \$1.15. An annotated list of books on the Revolution, including general histories, biographies, and novels. Introduction by Richard B. Morris. Illustrations from contemporary sources.

English Defenders of American Freedoms, 1774-1778. 1972. 231 p. \$4.75. Six pamphlets attacking British policy after the North Ministry turned to coercion, written by Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph; John Cartwright; Matthew Robinson-Morris, Baron Rokeby; Catherine Macaulay; and Willoughby Bertie, Earl of Abingdon.

Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution. 1975. 371 p. \$8.70. A guide to documents, including reproductions, in the Library pertaining to the period between 1763 and 1789. It is divided into domestic collections and foreign reproductions. For each collection a description of the materials and information about the principal figures are given.

Periodical Literature on the American Revolution: Historical Research and Changing Interpretations, 1895-1970. 1971. 93 p. \$1.30. A guide to essays and periodical literature on the Revolutionary era, listing more than 1,100 studies that have appeared in the last 75 years; includes subject and author indexes.

To Set a Country Free. 1975. 75 p. \$4.50. An account derived from an exhibition in the Library of Congress, commemorating the 200th anniversary of American independence and the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the Library. The essay on the events preceding and during the Revolution is richly illustrated with more than 100 reproductions, eight in full color, of manuscripts, maps, prints, and rare books, the great majority of which are in the Library's collections. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Twelve Flags of the American Revolution. 1974. 13 p. \$1.25. This catalog to accompany a Bicentennial exhibition depicts the flags in both black and white and color and gives notes on their origins and symbolism. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Two Rebuses from the American Revolution. Library of Congress Facsimiles No. 5-1 and 5-2. \$2.50. Two facsimiles, each approximately 10x14 inches and suitable for framing, of rebuses published by Matthew Darly, a London caricaturist, in 1778 as satiric comments on England's attempt to negotiate peace that year with the colonists. Translations of the rebuses and

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a note on the historical background are included on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

**LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SYMPOSIA
ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

Symposia and publications made possible through a grant from the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality. 1972. 158 p. \$3.50. Papers and commentaries presented at the first Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, held May 5 and 6, 1972. The participants are Richard B. Morris, Henry S. Com-

mager, Caroline Robbins, J. H. Plumb, Richard Bushman, Edmund S. Morgan, Pauline Maier, Jack P. Greene, Mary Beth Norton, and Esmond Wright.

Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution. 1973. 120 p. \$3.50. Papers presented on May 10 and 11, 1973, at the second of five symposia. Introduction by Julian P. Boyd. Papers by Bernard Bailyn, Cecelia M. Kenyon, Merrill Jensen, Richard B. Morris, and James Russell Wiggins.

Leadership in the American Revolution. 1974. 135 p. \$4.50. Papers delivered at the third Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, May 9 and 10, 1974. Opening remarks by L. H. Butterfield and papers by Alfred H. Kelly, Marcus Cunliffe, Gordon S. Wood, Don Higginbotham, and Bruce Mazlish.

Some Recent Publications of the Library of Congress¹

Railroad Maps of the United States. 1975. 112 p. \$2.05. A selective annotated bibliography of original 19th-century maps in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress. It includes a general index and an introductory essay tracing the development of American railroad mapping from its beginning in the late 1820's through the 19th century. Compiled by Andrew M. Modelska, Geography and Map Division.

Wilbur & Orville Wright. 1975. 234 p. \$2.30. A chronology commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Orville Wright, August 19, 1871. Supplementing the main chronology, which comprises over

2,600 individual entries, is a flight log and a comprehensive index. Prepared by Arthur G. Renstrom, Science and Technology Division.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

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small that in library work as in teaching the rank and file have been overwhelmingly women. Within recent years however salaries have become somewhat better and coincidentally, and without doubt intimately related to this fact, has come an increased and steadily growing preference for men as chief librarians. At the present moment the demand for good men to take not only the chief places but the more important subordinate ones, is far beyond the supply. The New York State Library School in 21 years has matriculated 475 students and of these 107 have been

men. Six of these have died. Some have not been adapted to library work and have dropped out after a residence of a very few weeks or months. Others have been unable to resist the more alluring commercial opportunities, but of the entire number, 75 or three fourths of those still living are now actively engaged in library work. There are but two instances of men who left the work after completing the course. . . .

Seventy years later one wonders if the "good men" are responding to the inducements held out by the library schools. According to the last census there were 115,000 librarians in the United States, 97,000 of them women, 18,000 of them men.



This *Quarterly Journal*, known for two years around the Publications Office as the woman issue, is not and was never intended to be one on women's liberation. Rather, it set out to reveal some of the resources available in the nation's library for the study of women. From the outset, the editors realized that in this limited space only a sampling can be given of what awaits the inquirer who wishes to pursue women (intellectually) through the LC collections.

First of the many resources to be represented are the distinguished women among the Library's honorary consultants—anthropologist Margaret Mead (who also enlisted her colleague, Rhoda Metraux) and poets Gwendolyn Brooks and Josephine Jacobsen. Although Clare Boothe Luce had been first to accept an invitation to contribute, she was forced to withdraw because of several eye operations. Nevertheless, she is represented in this issue in the article on the collections in the Manuscript Division and in a reproduction of a page from the typescript of her play *The Women*.

The pictorial section on woman's various roles only hints at the rich materials in the Prints and

Photographs Division. The reproductions are for the most part limited to the 19th century and to the United States and were selected from drawings in the Cabinet of American Illustration and the collection of historical prints.

Although this issue must perforce neglect many of the Library's resources, certain ones of these have been treated by exhibits throughout its halls, among them *The Legal Status of Woman: International and Comparative Law*, in the Law Library Reading Room through October 31, and, on the ground floor of the Main Building through December 31, 1975, *Women Look at Women*, in which 30 women photographers view their sisters through the lens of the camera. Manuscripts portraying the thoughts of women over the past 300 years were displayed in the Manuscript Division Reading Room in the exhibit *Women in American History*, which closed on September 30.

A final note to the curious: George Waterston's appearance in this issue is intended. His story continues the series on the Librarians of Congress that began in the anniversary issue of April 1975.

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